

# ILLAWARRA & SOUTH COAST aborigines

1770 - 1850



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## Dispossession - White Settlers & Cedar Getters

1817 - 1821

Following the widespread issuing of land grants in the Illawarra district during 1816, large numbers of cattle, sheep, and Europeans began to settle there, placing increasing pressure on the local Aboriginal inhabitants who frequently came into conflict with them. Also around this time gangs of cedar cutters were working in the forests of Illawarra and Bellsplain, and reportedly had a compelling influence on the local natives.

Governor Macquarie's military actions of 1816 had successfully terrorized and placated the Aborigines of the region east of the Illawarra escarpment around Appin and Camden, and the action of Sydney entrepreneurs such as Merchant Browne, Charles Throsby, and William Wentworth in moving their stock to Illawarra led to further instances in which the local natives were dispossessed of their land and their environment radically altered.

According to surviving records there was no large scale, aggressive opposition by the local tribes to white settlement during this period, though just as in every other frontier in the Colony incidents obviously occurred and the Aborigines of Illawarra would have raised numerous objections to their displacement from traditional homelands without regard to their human rights (for they had no real legal rights). Remember that many conflicts between whites and natives during this period were never officially reported.

Unfortunately the documents reproduced over the following pages do not clearly answer our questions (refer Introduction) regarding the fate of the Aboriginal inhabitants of northern and central Illawarra during the initial period of white settlement, though the few surviving accounts of encounters between whites and blacks during that period point to the emergence and inhumanity of the white settlers, and their wanton shooting of Aborigines caught stealing their crops or molesting their stock. The Europeans in their ignorance were also often terrified by the local Aborigines, and reacted accordingly by shooting them like wild beasts.

Those lucky enough to have survived Macquarie's campaigns of 1814-16 now faced a new threat from the white settlers and their convicts.

We do not know the number of Aborigines living in central Illawarra at the time of the first land grants (1816), however by 1834 there were officially only 78.

It is between the lines of the following accounts that the true fate of the Illawarra Aboriginal people during this period of Invasion is revealed.

1817

**Governor Macquarie's Views**

4 April 1817: Governor Macquarie reports to Earl Bathurst on his actions against the Aborigines during 1816 (HRA, Sydney, 1817, Series I, volume IX, pp 342):

**Natives**

In my despatch p'r the brig Alexander of date 8th June last, I had the honor of informing Your Lordship of the measures, which I had deemed it advisable to pursue in respect of quelling and subduing the hostile spirit of violence and rapine, which the black Natives or Aborigines of this Country had for a considerable time past manifested against the White Inhabitants, and I have now much pleasure in reporting to Your Lordship that measures I had then and subsequently adopted have been attended with the desired effect, and that all hostility on both sides has long since ceased; the black Natives living now peacefully and quietly in every part of the Colony, undisturbed by the White Inhabitants. The measure of disarming the Natives had an immediate good effect upon them, and the Proclamations issued subsequently under dates, 28th of July, and 1st of November, 1816, the first calling some of the most violent and atrocious Natives, and the second holding out indemnity to such as delivered themselves within a prescribed period, made them at length fully sensible of the folly of their conduct, and soon afterwards induced the principal Chiefs to come in at the heads of their respective Tribes to sue for peace and to deliver up their arms in all due form in terms of the Proclamation of the 4th of May, 1816, a copy of which accompanied my despatch under date 8th June last.

**European "Discovery" of Illawarra**

12 December 1817: Governor Macquarie reports to Earl Bathurst on the recent discovery of new land at Illawarra (HRA, Sydney, 1817, Series I, volume IX, pp 713):

...I have the pleasure to report to Your Lordship that an extensive tract of country, fit for the purposes of pasture and agriculture, has some little time since been discovered, distant about 45 miles to the southward of this [Sydney], on a part of the coast known generally by the name of "The Five Islands", but called by the natives "Illawarra"....

...It has been reported to me, both by Natives and a few Europeans who employ themselves on hunting excursions, that between Illawarra and Port Jervis there is another very extensive tract of land.

1818

**Charles Throsby & Party at Jervis Bay**

March - April 1818: Charles Throsby and a party, including the Aborigines Bungle and Broughton, travel overland from Liverpool to Jervis Bay. Throsby records a "Journal of a Tour of Discovery to Jervis Bay, 3 March to 13 April, 1818" (AONBWI, Reel 6034, Col. Sec. 92743, pp 1-77).

On 3 March 1818 a party led by Charles Throsby and surveyor James Meehan set out from Liverpool for Jervis Bay, via Moss Vale and Marulan. On 28 March, after encountering difficulties in

the area of Musgrave, the party divided. Throsby's group headed east towards the coast, planning to meet up with Moshan at Jervis Bay. It consisted of Throsby, Joseph Wild, George Games, some convicts, and the two natives - Bundall and Broughton. They were also joined by various Aborigines along the way.

For a map of the route followed after A.K. Weatherburn 'The Exploration and Surveys of James Moshan between the Copelandias, Wingecarribee River, Goulburn Plains, Shoalhaven River and Jervis Bay 1825, 1818 and 1819', JAHNS; 1978, volume 64, part 3, p. 175.

The following extract from Throsby's journal begins with the parting of Throsby and Moshan near Musgrave.

(26th March)

...Mr Moshan quitted me taking with him 3 horses and 5 men, leaving me with 2 carts, 3 men and George Games, a boy. We passed through a part of the country we went over the 3 preceding days, by a much nearer and better road than what we took going out, and arrived at Bumbalas at 3 o'clock, the station we left 2 nights before. The road we passed through returning avoided every hill, swamp, and creek, and would make a capital road.

Bumbalas 27th March

At daylight fine weather, wind eastward. At 8 o'clock set out. At 1/2 past 11 crossed Uonganias Creek, near where we stop on the 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th and 21st from thence through the scrub for about 4 or 5 miles, to a very excellent forest (Sutton Forest) very thick timbered and fit for any purpose of grazing or agriculture, to near the spot we stopped on the 14th, when we halted at 3 o'clock for the night.

28th March

At daylight cloudy, wind from the N.E. At 8 o'clock passed through a very good forest (Sutton Forest), to the place appointed, at 12, to leave the carts, at which spot we was met by Threlkeld and Munna who had been in search of us. They are 2 natives whom I have seen at Five Islands. Munna is one of two strangers whom myself, Colonel Johnston, his son George &c met at the River Macquarie, Five Islands, the first time the Colonel was there, and which was the first time he had seen a white man. On our meeting them they had many jagged spears &c but on my telling them (through Bundall) that the Governor required the Natives not to carry spears when with white people, they very readily consented to leave them, in fact threw them away and assured me that the carts and other things we left would be safe.

Meeting with the Natives and being determined to travel with the horses as long as possible the evening, I thought it prudent to halt for a short time longer than would be required to make the necessary arrangements, therefore took some refreshments and proceeded at 2 o'clock to the creek which prevented us crossing on the 14th. 1/2 past 3 halted to look out for a crossing place, went down the bush to remove rocks &c which occupied our time until nearly sun set, therefore remained here for that night.

Bantareen 29th March

At daylight fine weather, wind northward. Set out before breakfast to look at the creek towards its source, found it formed by very inconsiderable streams and think it does not extend any great distance the water falling to the right, it is probable that by keeping more to the eastwards, the pass we came down may be avoided.

At 9 set out, crossed the creek, 1/2 past 9 ascending, at 10 descending a poor stony hill. A very high barrier of mountainous rocks all round. 1/2 past 10, on the top of a hill, barren land. At 11 o'clock rounding the point of a high rocky hill to the left, high perpendicular rocks to the right. 1/2 past 11 poor land, round the points of range. At 12 barren scrub, going down to a deep gully ahead, high rocks and broken point of range country on the other side. 1/2 past 12 on the top of a steep hill. From the number of loose rocks, I thought it prudent to unload the horse, and carry'd everything down, which occupied our time until 2.

1/2 past 2 down the hill on a beautiful piece of meadow, by the side of a considerable stream of water running to the right (the stream runs from the Kangaroo Ground where Captain Brooks has cattle about 3 miles distant). At 3 along the river. 1/2 past 3 halted in the meadow (land and grass very good) by the side of a stream to prepare a crossing place and secure provisions, the weather being very cloudy and likely to rain. At 5 rain which continued until 12 o'clock.

An old Native with a wife and eight children came to us at this place, tells me this river rises out of a piece of forest grounds close to the foot of the Five Islands Mountain which ground I sent Joseph Wild to examine about 12 months since. He informs me he met the old Man and Family there and that the land from whence this river takes its source is a very large piece of excellent forest and that the source of it and those of Macquarie River at Five Islands is only separated by the range of the Macquarie Mountains.

#### Parashur 31st March

At daylight fine weather, wind west. 1/2 past 9 crossed everything across the creek on a tree, and got the horses over. Water about 3 feet deep, bottom good, stream very rapid from the falls above. At 10 winding a range to the top of a very high hill. Country all round broken, many perpendicular rocks & several forest grass hills to be seen through the trees. 1/2 past 10 rounding the point of a very high hill over a range. Country between, brush the whole way. At 11 barren brush (S.E.), 1/2 past 11 barren brush, southward. At 12 barren brush, S.E. Passed the heads of several gullies running to the right. 1/4 past 12 a deep gully, which the Natives say is Shoals Haven main river. At 1 o'clock very thick barren brush, 1/2 past 1 go. At 2 down a steep hill to a valley of good grass and land. A stream running right. 1/2 past 2 ascending a steep hill. At 3 o'clock winding along a range to the southward, very thick barren brush. Shoals Haven ahead. 1/2 past 3 on the top of a point of rocks, a sight of Shoals Haven River turning round the point. Beautiful grassy points at the side of the River. Down steep pass towards the River. 4 o'clock in a valley going south to the River. Land very good (grass very high 5 & 6 feet). At 5 o'clock halted by the side of a ford, the water apparently very shallow.

#### Parashur 1st April

At daylight fine weather, wind west. Sent Joseph Wild to examine the depth of the water at the ford, who returned, at 1/2 past 7 o'clock, stating the River passable, at a very good stoney ford.

The Native informs me that a Whale Boat was up some time ago, pass this place, to near the spot we stop'd at the night before last, so they must have gone up a N.E. arm instead of the main River.

I set out 3/4 past 9 over Shoals Haven River, at an excellent ford, not 2 feet deep. Current strong from the heavy rains, 1/4 past 10 in a good piece of forest, good grass and land. Timber thin. Apple tree and gum. At 11 ascending and descending round the point of the ranges through a forest not good except for grazing. At 12 Shoals Haven River close to the left turning round a short point down a hill to a small Meadow, very good.

At this place we met 5 Native Women, and 3 Children. At our approach they were extremely frightened, or so they appeared from their countenances &c. One of them had a most hideous nose resembling the African Black, than any I have seen in this Colony, although I am told the Denver Natives are all so.

1/2 past 12 crossed a swamp in a meadow, and ascended a high hill, rocky not good. At 1 on the top of the hill, descending through very poor brush, high rocks to the right, creek to the left: 1/2 past 1 both horses fell down in the crossing a small creek, obliged to unload and carry the load up a small hill. 2 o'clock brushy high rocks to the right. 1/2 past 2: forest not good. 3 o'clock rounding the point of a high hill, a creek to the left, one of the horses fell down and stuck fast crossing a creek which took us time up nearly 6 hours when we halted for the night.

This evening we fell in with several families of the Natives, in all about 30 men, women, and children who would all have run away but for one of these . . . who were with us who assured them we should not hurt them, and by whom they were prevailed on to shake hands with me, when I made each of them a trifling present, which induced them to give us what Fish they had, for these I paid them with a Fishhook &c.

#### Tamauama 2nd April

At daylight fine weather, wind westerly. 8 o'clock set out. One of the horses very weak, fell down crossing a creek. At 10 a good meadow but not extensive. At 11 a barren forest. 1/2 past 11 ds. At 12 barren forest, along a range. 1/4 past 12 the point of range good forest, an appearance of low ground ahead. 1/2 past 12 in sight of Javie's Bay from the top of a hill S.E. by E. Sheep Haven Rd to the left, several large pieces of clear meadow to be seen, high forest land to the northwest of it. Down a range of forest until 1/2 past 2, before calculated for agriculture than grazing, from the number of wattle trees, and tall Indigo. Timber thick but not heavy, gum and iron bark. At 3 over a range of forest, not so good, until 3 minutes before 2 to a stream of water which the Natives say runs into Javie's Bay. Brush thick on its banks, bottom rocky. Rich land on S.E. side. 10 minutes past 2 over a range of tolerable good forest, timber box, to a fall of water into a basin about 12 feet. At 3 a barren brush, a considerable creek where the tide runs up. On the left rich land and on the northern banks. 1/2 past 3 over tolerable good piece of forest, timber apple trees, to a small run of fresh water. At 4 o'clock by the side of a small swamp running to the left, lands good, timber apple trees. The weak horse very tired which obliged me to halt for the night, although close to the Bay. I observed the appearance of not flooded grounds on the north side of the creek.

Of the Natives that joined us yesterday one of them accompanied us and is bound to say that he (Honney) had conducted us a way that is much to his credit, that he has gained confidence since we first saw him last night, for at that time every symptom of fear was in his countenance and his whole frame, the whole of these we have met with have invariably approached us without Spears, and I think the Governor's Orders on that head if properly attended may be productive of the best effect, nor have I any doubt that many of the misfortunes that have happened [to] the white people have been brought on themselves.

#### Javie's Bay called by the Natives Cooroonan 3rd April

At daylight fine weather, wind westerly. At 8 o'clock set out sounding swamps for the first half hour. Forest land on the banks of the creek, to the left good very rich, but not extensive. At 10 barren scrub close to a creek to the left, side oblong, bottom sand. Sent a Native in search of the Natives of the place to enquire if there was any account of Mr Meehan. Several Natives joined us who informed us that a vessel sailed from thence this morning or yesterday with one of Mr Allan's sons in her and several Soldiers. That they had sailed to the southward. We went by the creek side for 10 minutes, arrived at the point when very heavy rains and thunder set in. Here we halted. At this point the creek enters itself into the bay.

North head E. by S. 1/2 S. The creek we came down is not noticed in the chart, its entrance is nearly shut by a very long narrow point or neck of land, the creek itself being more considerable than I was taught to believe, and that led down bears no sort of resemblance of its entrance. About 4 o'clock the weather cleared, I therefore rode round until sun set. Found the Country (with the

exception of small spots say 20 acres together) very barren poor lands, but mostly covered with forest grass, about sun set full in with a small creek, its banks covered with mangrove.

Returned at dusk to the flat where I found many Natives without Spears &c, but I would nevertheless much rather be without such numerous visitors considering our small party, and having heard of the disposition of Javie's Bay Natives.

#### Coomboon 4th April

At daylight fine weather, wind northward. At 9 o'clock set out to ascertain correctly the spot appointed by Mr Meahan to mark a tree &c and to look round the S.W. part of the Bay. I am here informed that a River called Bemerry takes its rise a short distance from hence. That it runs to the southward passed the Pigeon House and empties itself into the sea.

At 20 minutes passed I crossed a small creek, tide ebbing round the Bay until 12 then opposite the anchorage the return finding no other creek so considerable in the Bay, than the one we halted at last night, am convinced the one we slept at is the one Mr Meahan intended we should stop at. A number of beautiful green patches of forest to be seen on the north side of the Bay, which appears much superior to the side we are now on. The Natives point S & W. as the direction of the River Bemerry, above mentioned, say the land there is good, not like what we are now on. That the grass is all good &c. Mr Meahan not being here and the small party I have with me prevents me looking about the Country as I otherwise would do. 1/2 past 12 to the S.W. a poor barren rocky scrub. At 1 barren heath. 1/2 past one a large extent of barren heath. At 2 still poor forest. At a small creek obliged to stand for the boat through a poor forest. At 3 islanded good forest close to the Beach. To the Huts at 40 minutes past 4 o'clock.

#### 5th April

At daylight fine weather, wind southward, North head E. by S. 1/2 S. South head S.E.

Being desirous to get a sight of the river mentioned by the Natives yesterday, I ventured after some precautionary measures to set out (accompanied by a Native named Turong, who from his conduct I think the best of the whole of Javie's Bay Natives that I have seen). At 10 o'clock with Wild and young Mr Grimes travelled along the beach, to the south side of the Bay. Crossed the beach near Bony Point and ascended a hill over a rocky poor country. At one o'clock saw the Pigeon House S.W. 1/2 W. A beautiful view of a very extensive sheet of water (This is the sheet of water mentioned in my journal of Decr 1881) extending from S. by W. to W. A long tract of country apparently low for a great distance with lolly broken country at the back, extending from S. by W. to W. N. W. This sheet of water must have communication with the sea, and from its extent most likely a good harbour. In looking ab initio with the glass I perceived several patches of grass. At 1/2 past one, north side of Javie's Bay E. by N. Pigeon House S.W. 1/2 W. Isolated point of land in sight E. by W. but not being satisfied as to the safety of the 2 men I left. I am prevented going down to it, and therefore made the best of our way to the Hut, through a very poor country, except some few patches near the beach of good forest.

Arrived at the Hut at 4 o'clock. Found a number of Natives there. This day the Natives increased in number and are certainly the most impudent I ever met with in the Colony. They will get us no fish without paying double the price at any other place. If we attempt to give one a bit of bread &c the whole immediately demanded the like, and which from their numbers and manners we were from policy almost obliged to comply with. This morning young Grimes went out to shoot ducks, but only one got. A native named Tarangella who was with him, took it and carried it to the Hut, unpeppered it up in his cloak and laid it by his side, and when I asked him for it, with much impudence demanded tobacco, as well as the bread I had offered him. Just after dark Wild and myself being on the beach observed 3 young men bring over Spears &c from the opposite side of the creek and put them in the bush, then removed them a short distance nearer the water. Several of the Native women went away this evening - a very suspicious circumstance. Kept watch all night.

Coonoonboon 5th April

At daylight fine weather, wind southward. The number of Natives whose demands have pressed hard on our provisions and other circumstances, made me resolve to remove about 3 miles distance at the junction of 2 small creeks, branches of the main one. Set off at 1/2 past 11. Arrived at the spot intended at one o'clock, whence we hasted. Country round made up of forest and brush, some good patches. One branch N. by E. other about S.W. Main creek down about 6 ft. In the afternoon I set off to look at the country round, found it all mixed forest and scrub, some very good spots fit for cultivation in all directions.

7th April

At daylight fine weather, wind west. Wrote the following letter which I left in case Mr Meahan should arrive.

Dear Meahan

I arrived here on Thursday evening and have remained until this day 12 o'clock having been yesterday and the day before round to 8 Mr. Country bad. A large sheet of water called Beebeary, about 5 miles from the part of the Bay where vessels anchor, from a height above which I have got the bearings of Pigeon House, and Northhead of this Bay with other marks &c. Am induced to remove from hence, from the number of visitors whom I think suspicious, at all events their conduct is so. Shall stop at a fall of water, at the head of this creek, about 3 or 4 miles for a day or two. The place called Topbooth, looks round me there. At the pass we came and have to return over as bad as much so in one place as the Five Islands Mountains. The better will find you a Guide. You must pass the following plains, which were the stations we stop at coming here (not from hence) Tamewissa 2nd Phamash, 3rd Bumourah, 4th Yamangah, 5 Broughton's Point which point may be avoided by keeping to the right and coming out at Toombieg. If you are pressed for time I would advise your going by Five Islands (after you gall over Shoals Haven a very good road at Phamash) from thence to Boongurie (the spot Mr Berry my friend told me he should take his family then Miss M. M. Mustah, through some good land. Your time will be saved, and have a much better pass.

Yours &c

Chas. Throsby

Our provisions reduced from the quantity I was obliged from motives of prudence to give the Natives, and from the length of time we have been absent from Mr Meahan, taking back 2 days longer on our journey here, than he and myself calculated on in the event of my succeeding, I gave up all hopes of his arriving, altho' the Natives tell me there is a pass from the place we left the Carts (my last trip proves the acc't of the natives to be correct), that he had 2 traps to pass, one named Tsalong and the other Boondoonribonwa, but from the peculiar nature of the country I think it next to impossible for a white man to find the passes, although I have no doubt there may be many.

At 10 o'clock I fired a signal for Mr Meahan, and set off in a westerly direction (supposing that must be the way he must approach) towards the range of Shoals Haven 1/2 past 11 on the top of a hill, having passed through a tract of excellent land fit more for cultivation than grazing. A large extent both right and left of good forest, but more particularly towards Shoals Haven, in sight of North head of Jarvis Bay about 11 by S. 1/2 S., an island in Cross Haven about N.E. by E. 1/2 E. a beautiful view of the meadows about Shoals Haven. The sea about 14 miles, and nearly the whole extent of Jarvis Bay forming the most picturesque appearance I ever saw, and a large extent of good forest land. 1/2 past 12 made a signal for Mr Meahan, but not having any hopes of seeing him, conceiving from his stock of provisions, that he must be returning by another route, and ours very much reduced from the cause before mentioned as well as having a long journey after we

armed at the carts before us, and the appearance of the weather very suspicious, which from hearing that rain should set in, we should be prevented crossing [Shoals Haven] I determined to get to the carts as soon as possible, without examining the country between Shoals Haven and Five Islands, as was my intention, had Mr Meehan joined. At 10 o'clock I went to the northward, on the edge of an extensive forest of excellent land, crossing the small runs going to Shoals Haven. At 2 do, 1/2 past 2 do, 3 do, 4 do, 1/2 past 4 by the side of a creek stopped for the night at Bu Wongalla. From the forest mentioned a good road may be made to Jervis Bay, though a bit good country to the westward and to Crook Haven, all good.

This evening Timalong joined some strange Natives, who informed him they had seen Mr Meehan, that they left him 3 nights since and said something about bullocks (they might be horses) which I could not understand, it being so improbable a story that Mr Meehan had returned, with one of Yellowman's party, that the dogs he had with them were much cut or killed by Kangaroos, that the name of place Mr Meehan returned from was Jackqua (this proved to be correct), horses very weak, down below.

By Wongalla 8th April

At daylight cloudy, wind westerly. Bu Wongalla, a creek close to land running into Shoal Haven river, a large tract of good forest, flooded ground on the opposite side of the river, several cedar trees to be seen. At 8 o'clock set out. At 12 crossed Shoals Haven, at Pomlah, having come by a much nearer route than we went.

At this place I saw a party of the Natives who informed Timalong about Mr Meehan, who confirmed in substance what is above stated, that Mr Meehan met 8 black men named Res Wigugal, and Maulancy &c. The party above alluded to are the most robust and healthy looking Natives I have ever seen in the Colony. The whole of them shook hands with me and offered us Honey of which they had great quantities.

Through a broken country, many patches of very good land on the runs into the river. At 2 o'clock into a good valley with excellent grass and land named Boolas. At this place Timalong the Native who had been with us from the place we descended the carts, left us in a very unexpected manner, from which as well as many other circumstances, I think it will be necessary to keep a particular look out, as should nothing occur against us, I am fearful the carts have been plundered and from every occurrence, I am perfectly satisfied I did right by leaving Jervis Bay when I did, for I must confess that in all my journeys amongst the Natives of New South Wales I never left the anxiety and distrust that I did at Jervis Bay. Their manners are in every respect daringly impudent, compared with any others I ever before met with and I would advise who ever may go there to act with great precaution.

At 3 o'clock through the same country we passed in our way out, but from the scrub being trodden down as we went we are able to travel much faster. Arrived at a creek running into Phamourish at 5 o'clock, where we halted for the night, one horse very tired. This evening about 7 o'clock, the dog belonging to the Native who left us at Boolas, came to us, which still makes us suspect all is not right, and that he with a party are in the neighbourhood. (My suspicions as to Timalong's fidelity proved perfectly groundless.)

9th April

At daylight fine weather, wind westerly 1/2 past 7 o'clock set out.....

[Throsby and party subsequently returned to Liverpool.]

### James Meehan at Jervis Bay

March - April 1818: James Meehan, surveyor, accompanies Charles Throsby et al. on an overland journey from Bong Bong to Jervis Bay, though the party divides near Marulan

Meehan's 'Memorandum of a tour from Sydney to Jervis Bay' records the following encounters with Aborigines:

Monday, 30th March 1818

[Upper Shoalhaven River] Two natives came to the hut I had them shaved and at their own request gave one of them a picar. They indicated could not cross river; each had 2 children and would return with them....

Tuesday, 31st March

Hume who had been searching for horses returned accompanied by two parties of the Natives. The first fled. The second had one of the two men who were with me at the last. Showed them he was shaved and then were within 1/2 mile of the horses, on their tree, from which circumstance it is not improbable they were in quest of them. They appear very friendly and are good looking men....

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### Cornelius O'Brien & Lt. Weston's Vigilante Action Against Illawarra Aborigines

8 October 1818: Charles Throsby writes to Governor Macquarie complaining about the action of Cornelius O'Brien (overseer on William Browne's property at Yallali) and Lt. Weston (owner of a property near Dapto) in leading a vigilante action against some Illawarra Aborigines. The matter is subsequently investigated by the Sydney Bench of Magistrates.

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### The O'Brien & Weston Case

24 October 1818: The Sydney Bench of Magistrates, led by D'Arcy Wentworth, investigates charges against Cornelius O'Brien and Lt Weston re their abuse, and possible murder of Aborigines at Illawarra (Wentworth Papers, Mitchell Library, A753, C1929, pp.243-252)

New South Wales      Before D'Arcy Wentworth Esqre. Magistrate of the Territory and others His Fellows Justices assigned to keep the Peace

John Stewart Stock keeper to Mr. George Johnston sworn aath on the 27th of September or thereabouts Mr O'Brien and Mr Weston and several others come to the Hut in which I live, to inquire after the Natives. Mr O'Brien and Mr Weston were armed with Muskets some others of the party were armed with Cutlasses and Bayonets, or long sticks. They said they came to get back some fire arms which Mr O'Brien had lent the Natives - Two Muskets - They said they were not going to hurt them but merely to recover their fire arms.

I accompanied them in search of the Natives. We saw no Native men but the Native Women who, as soon as they saw us coming, ran away. One of the Women left her Child behind. I brought it

away with me, and another Child followed me Home. Mr O'Brien returned Home in the afternoon and the Natives then returned also. They said they were very much frightened.

While I was with Mr O'Brien as a prisoner I heard two shots fired and another was fired by his Party on their return home. I never heard from the Natives that any one of them was injured or wounded; nor do I believe that any Person was hurt by Mr O'Brien or any of his Party. The Natives have since returned to their usual places and their accustomed habits.

I have heard the Natives say that sometimes Mr O'Brien is a good Man and that sometimes he beats them. Mr O'Brien's Muskets were brought to my House the Day after this transaction by five or six Natives.

Sworn before us this 24th day Octr 1816

Signed John Stewart

Joseph Wild, District Constable at Newara, sworn oath on the 26th of Septr. William Richardson alias Charcoal Will came to my Hut and asked me to lend my two muskets. He said Mr O'Brien had sent him, for that the Natives were "very savage". He said that nobody had seen them (only their smokes). I said as they had done no damage I would neither go myself nor lend my Muskets.

The next day Bundle a Native came and told me that the Natives (Men and Women) at the river [Minimurra] were all killed, he said a Black Woman had told him so. It was about 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Next day I went over to Mr O'Brien's and asked him why they had shot the Natives who were doing no harm.

McAlessa said he had shot one who had howled like a Native Dog, and that he would shoot all before him even if the Governor stood by, if they shold a spear at him. I asked Mr O'Brien why he went after the Natives with Muskets and Cutlasses and Bayonets stuck on long sticks, he said he went to get his Muskets back. He said he saw no Black Men only Women. McAlessa said he had seen only two or three. The Black Woman said that one little Boy was shot in the fore-head with a slug. I have ascertained that no Person else was hurt, nor have I seen the Boy that was wounded.

In about a week they returned to their usual habits and residences. I have heard the Blacks say that Mr O'Brien was not good sometimes, because he would not give them Patta. I heard from a Black woman that McAlessa had lied at the Blacks. The Boy was a Native of Mine Mark.

Sworn before us same day

has  
Signed Joseph x Wild  
Mark

Joseph Wild further saith that Mr O'Brien said his object in sending for me was that I should use my influence with the Natives to recover the Muskets.

John McCarthy sworn saith I was one of the Party who accompanied Mr O'Brien in search of the Natives. We left Mr O'Brien's soon after breakfast. There were Mr O'Brien, Mr Weston and about seven others. The chief part of us had Muskets, there were two cutlasses and one Bayonet fixed on a long stick. We went to Stewart's Hut and from thence to Mr Johnstone's Meadow where we left in with a few Natives, Men, Women and Children "about five or six" when they saw us they ran away. Mr O'Brien called to them to come as usual instead of which they ran off. We followed them to try if we could find where the Muskets were, and whether the Natives intended to do us any harm. As I was the best runner I caught a woman and told her we only came to get the Muskets back from Philip. She said "there is Philip". Mr O'Brien and Charcoal Will then came up and we let the Woman go and a Child the Woman left behind was brought up to her by either Charcoal Will or Mr O'Brien. We pursued Philip and the other Natives but they got away from us.

On our return home our party separated. Soon after I heard a shot fired. We went towards the place and found McLeese and Charcoal Will and another man. McLeese said that a Native had stopped a spear and he had fired at him. The Woman who ran away was so alarmed that she left her child and called for the Natives to assist her. I do not think that any of the Natives were either killed or wounded on that day. On our return home Mr O'Brien fired at some Parrots on a tree and said he was going to shoot Bucks. The Natives were not friendly for about a fortnight, it might not be more than four or five days. They have now returned to their old habits.

I think Mr O'Brien behaves as well to the Natives as he does to the Government Men. In consequence of a Rumour that some White Men are to be sent to the Coal River (Newcastle) on their account they have got saucy again. Two days after the muskets were returned, the Blacks returned to Mr O'Brien's House and were well fed.

Swear before us same day

Signed D Wentworth  
S Lord  
R Brooks

Signed      his  
John      x    McArthy  
Mark

William Richards (alias Charcoal Will) sworn saith I have seen the Boy who was wounded in the Head and he told me that he had been shot by Philip who was shooting at a Kangaroo and the shot having been extracted the Boy is as well as ever. In three or four days the Natives returned to Mr O'Brien's as usual and have continued on friendly terms, ever since. I left 'Frying Pan Jack' at Mr O'Brien's in the Five Islands. He refused to come to Sydney with us. He is on the most friendly terms with Mr O'Brien's family. I certify the preceding Depositions which I have heard read, in all the other particulars.

Swear before us same day

(Signed) D Wentworth  
S Lord  
R Brooks

Signed The mark of  
William      x    Richards  
(alias) Charcoal Will

A True Copy  
D Wentworth J.P.

The Magistrates having carefully investigated the allegations contained in Mr Throsby's letter of the 18th October addressed to His Excellency the Governor, are of opinion that the same have not been proved, further than that Messrs. O'Brien and Weston appear to have acted with great indiscipline in going in search of the natives, Armed and Attended as they were. The Magistrates are further of opinion that McLeese fired his Musket in consequence of the apprehensions excited by a Native having stopped his Spear at him.

D Wentworth, J.P.  
Court Room October 24- 1818

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#### Macquarie's Displeasure re O'Brien & Weston Case

1 November 1818. Governor Macquarie writes to D Acy Wentworth, head of the Sydney Bench of Magistrates, expressing surprise, regret, and displeasure at the Sydney Bench's treatment of the O'Brien - Weston case with so much levity and indifference, and calling on further action to be taken (Wentworth Papers, Mitchell Library, A252, CY659, pp 207-209).

Government House  
Paramatta 1st Novr 1818

Sir

I herewith do myself the honor to return you the Depositions taken by the Bench of Magistrates at Sydney relative to the late attack made by Mr O'Brien and certain other white men on the Natives of Illawarra, and which you delivered to me yesterday at Sydney for my perusal. I have accordingly perused those Depositions from which it appears most clearly proved that a Party of White Men Armed by Mr O'Brien, armed for the purpose, proceeded, in hostile array, to attack, most wantonly and unprovokedly, the poor unoffending Black Natives of Illawarra, and actually fired on them, it being also in proof that one Native Boy was wounded.

After much clear proof of those circumstances, I cannot help expressing, and thus conveying to you, Sir, for their information, my surprise, regret, and displeasure, at the Bench of Magistrates treating this wanton attack on the Natives with so much levity and indifference; and as I consider it my indispensable duty to protect those unfortunate Natives from similar acts of outrage and暴行 in future, I most desire that you will issue your Warrant forthwith for the apprehension of the Convict named Macalpine, now in the service of Mr Brown at Illawarra (and whom it is proved fired on the Natives) and have him lodged in Sydney Jail to be afterwards tried with as I may judge expedient.

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most obedt Servt.  
L Macquarie

To  
D Wentworth  
Supt: of Police, Sydney

[The fate of Macalpine is unknown, though it is likely he was simply transferred from the district]

Allen Cunningham, Botanist, in Illawarra

October - November 1818: Allen Cunningham, Colonial Botanist, visits Illawarra to collect specimens and is assisted by native guides. Illawarra was to become Cunningham's favourite locality in the Colony for the collection of botanical specimens, and he visited there a number of times between 1818-40. Unfortunately his journals contain few references to the local Aborigines.

The following are relevant extracts from the diary recording his visit in 1818 (AONSHW, Rolls 46 & 47):

(23rd October, Friday) ... We arrived at the farm about 3pm. In the evenings of this I intend to employ myself for about three weeks, in the examination of the botany around this farm, for which the native name Illawarra or Alqueme is retained, is the property of David Allan, Esqrs., Deputy-Commissioner-General, and comprises 2,000 acres of fine grazing land, whose [oastern] boundary or extremity is the Red Point of Coal and the charts. The good land extends inland from the sea westerly 10 miles, till it terminates at or near Point Bass, southward towards which, in either direction from Illawarra, the land gradually decreases in breadth.

24th Saturday. I destined the whole of the day to examination of the country around me, and especially to the westward, inland. From thence alone it appeared I would be most likely to meet with botanical novelty, and accordingly we left the farm-escos in a north-westerly direction, taking with us an assistant and guide, the nephew of the chief of the Lake Alowess, 1 whose services I purchased for the day, for a small piece of tobacco. -

25th Sunday. Visited the last farm southerly, in the range of country, about 10 miles from Illawarra, situated on the small river called Merimbula by the natives. -

26th Wednesday I have examined the shaded hollows or lochs westerly, towards the mountain belt. On land occupied by various settlers, for the most part as runs for cattle, I find I am generally

a month too early for flowering specimens. I have, however, procured a few in rather an unexpanded state, and others have afforded me ripe fruit. I now propose to spend two or three days on or immediately under the ridge, and the morning I removed my headquarters to the stock-keeper's hut near the mountain, taking with me a sufficiency of soft provisions and abundance of paper for the limited time I intend being absent.

About 8 a.m. we left the hut, with an intention, if possible, to reach Mt. Gumbi, the summit of Mt. Hill, bearing about 8 or 9 miles (apparently) W. N. W., and as a guide through the more intricate woods. I had induced an intelligent native to accompany me.

About 11 a.m. we had penetrated through much confined thicker and small patches of clear open forest-land alternately, when my native guide, seeing the more rugged and difficult part of our route before us (and in truth not caring to be absent long from his wife and children), complained of sickness and finally abandoned us, returning back to the hut with all possible speed....

[9th November].—The native, our guide, suspended, on a tree, an opossum (*Didelphis*), having many of the habits of the ring-tailed species (*caudivolvus*). It was a female and her cub. They were asleep, hanging by the claws among the topmost shoots of a slender *Eucalyptus* sapientis. It has no tail; it has the thick blunt head of the wombats, with strong incisor teeth, but does not burrow in the earth as that harmless, easily domesticated animal. The length of the mother was 28 inches, and its weight upwards of 30 lbs. The cub was about half grown, its length not exceeding a foot. It was covered with a fine thick grey fur.

The Australian killed the parent in order the better to carry her down the range, but the young one, at my suggestion, and request, was suffered to live, and was carefully brought to the Farm hut.

The heat of the day had brought out snakes from their retreats in the hollow trunks of fallen timber, and it required the utmost caution to avoid treading upon them as they lay basking in the beaten paths among the high grass.

At dusk we returned to the farm hut, having had a fine day for the ill-paid excursion we had made.

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#### Banning of Spirits for the Aborigines

Saturday, 7 November 1818. [Sydney Gazette] Governor Macquarie issues a General Order prohibiting the giving of Spirits to Aborigines:

#### Government and General Orders

Secretary's Office, Sydney  
7th November, 1818

#### Colonial Department

The Practice of giving Spirits, and the Wastings out of Spirit Casks, to the Black Native, which has been long since prohibited and discontinued, having lately been revived by some few Persons, Dealers in Spirits, whereby the said Natives have become riotous and offensive to the better Part of the Society, by their fighting in the Streets, and committing wanton barbarities on each other, and the late disgraceful Outrage thus occasioned rendering it necessary that the most rigorous Measures should be adopted to restrain their Recurrence. His Excellency the Governor is pleased thus to express his strong Disapprobation of such Practices, at once so injurious to the Public Peace, and subversive of the common Principles of Humanity, and to notify, that any Persons who shall hereafter be discovered to give Spirits to the Natives, or what they themselves call "Boys", will incur His Excellency's highest displeasure, and be prosecuted, as Basers and Provokers of Public Disturbances.

And it being the Duty of the Officers of Police to prevent and suppress all Breaches of the Peace, and Riots, they are hereby specially enjoined to apprehend and secure the Rioters, of whatever Description, in Order to render them amenable to the competent Jurisdiction, to be dealt with according to Law.

By His Excellency's Command,  
J.T.Campbell,Secretary.

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#### Governor Macquarie's Banquet

Monday, 28 December 1818: Governor Macquarie hosts a banquet at Parramatta for the Aborigines of the Colony, including those from Illawarra, the South Coast, and beyond the Blue Mountains. Of the almost 300 in attendance, it was noted (Sydney Gazette, 2 January 1819):

... There were other tribes from the North and South, who had travelled a distance of upwards of 100 miles.

This event was held by Macquarie for a number of years, and representatives from all over the Colony attended.

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#### 1819

##### Charles Throsby's Aboriginal Guides Rewarded

19 April 1819: Mille and Warem, two of Charles Throsby's guides, recommended for rewards for their assistance in his journeys of exploration (AONSW)

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31 May 1819: Charles Throsby's Aboriginal guides rewarded for assistance with exploration (AONSW)

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September 1819: Report on awarding of Breechesplates to two of Charles Throsby's guides (AONSW)

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#### Timbery

18 November - 26 December 1819: Jacques Arago, artist aboard the French Uranie expedition, visited Sydney and Botany Bay during this period and produced a portrait of an Aboriginal man at Botany Bay known as "Timbery". This portrait was later reproduced in the published account of the voyage.

Refer La Perouse (1988, pp. 4-5), and Sotheby's *Fine Australian Paintings* catalogue of 29 October 1987, no. 148, for reference to Timbory and his connections with the South Coast and La Perouse. See also Return of Blankets issued in Wollongong 1822-42.

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**Surveyors in Illawarra**

[1818] James Meehan and John Oxley, 'Transverses and general Observations, Counties of Camden and St Vincent', New South Wales Surveyor's General Department, Fieldbook No 142 (AONSW).

Surveyors fieldbook, containing isolated references to local Aborigines and names of localities.

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[1819] James Meehan and John Oxley, 'Observations on the Coast Line of Illawarra, NSW', New South Wales Surveyor's General Department, Fieldbook No 156 (AONSW).

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**1820**

10 January 1820: Surveyor General John Oxley, in a report to Governor Lachlan Macquarie, gives the Aboriginal name for the Minamurra River, north of Kiama (NSW, 1917, Series I, volume X, p.254).

... The District of Illawarra is naturally bounded on the south by a high range of rocky hills, in which the waters, falling southerly into Broad Haven River, have their source. These rocky hills terminate on the coast, a small salt water creek, called by the Natives Meme mooka, dividing them at that point from the granted lands in the Illawarra district....

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26 April & 3 May 1820: Charles Throsby writes to the Colonial Secretary re alarm in new Country (Goulburn district) of restlessness of Aborigines and despatch of Soldiers (AONSW, Reel 6334, 9/2743, pp. 139-46).

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**1821**

**Conflict at Twofold Bay**

23 June 1821: (Sydney Gazette) Report on the crew of the wreck of the Mary, who are attacked by natives at Twofold Bay, prior to their escape in a dinghy.

Loss of the Colonial Vessel Mary - The Mary, Captain Richard Heany, sailed from Port Jackson for the Settlement of Port Dalrymple, on the 29th ult. with a choice cargo on board, the value of which was estimated to be about £3,000.

Five days after her departure Captain Heany made Ram Head, when the wind set in from the southward, and drove them back to the northward of Two-fold Bay. In a short time the wind so much altered its course as to enable the vessel to get off Cape Howe. The weather was so hazy, that notwithstanding they were within half a mile of the land, it was scarcely perceptible. About four in the morning a dreadfully heavy gale, accompanied with a tremendous sea, set in from the S.E.

It is too well known that any attempt to withstand those sudden squalls off our coast, which often continue with unabating violence for days together, would be useless. Captain Heany was therefore compelled again to bear away for Two-fold Bay, the nearest haven of possible shelter. The vessel was carried away by the violence of the wind and the vessel ran through the sea with such swiftness that she was soon moored to both anchors, apparently safe, within Two-fold Bay.

The gale increased, and veering round to E. which was direct into the Bay, Captain Heany deemed it advisable, becoming apprehensive for the safety of those on board, to loose no time in lowering the boat. One man reached the shore with a line which he made fast, the boat, in the interim, being overhauled, the two men that were in her, were compelled also to make for the shore. It was about 8 in the morning when they made the bay, and about 11 the Life-boat cable parted, which was soon followed by that of the starboard, when the little vessel quickly drove on shore.

Captain Heany, Mrs Heany, with the servant maid, and the residue of the crew, were compelled to swim for their lives; and, providentially, all succeeded in getting to land. The vessel soon sank, and became a complete wreck. The following morning the chief part of the cargo was lying on the beach, which was secured as commodiously as circumstances would allow.

The natives delayed not in visiting them, and evinced much friendliness, which was however of short duration, as will appear.

On the sixth day after the loss of the vessel, the natives crowded to the wreck. Most of the crew, which consisted of nine persons, exclusive of Mrs Heany and servant, were fortunately under the shelter of a rock overhanging the sea, which happily saved them from falling victims to savagery. Huge stones were rolled down the rock, and a number of spears were thrown, which were not attended with any other effect than slightly wounding the cook and one of the seamen. Whilst one party of the natives were thus bairncising in the shipwrecked manner, another force was plundering the cargo, and after satisfying themselves, they decamped - leaving the spolia, of which there was a great quantity, wholly untouched.

No time was lost by the distressed Commander in getting the boat repaired and launched, in that one object being casted all their hopes of escaping a cruel destiny at the hands of savage barbarity, and of being restored to family and friends. The little bark being about the crew, with Mrs Heany, embarked; but the wind proving uncontrollable to their departure, the boat was blown to the opposite shore, still keeping within the bay.

The natives again made their appearance, and threw some spears, one of which entered a great coat worn by Mrs Heany, and another passed Captain Heany's leg, who immediately fled at the assault; one of whom fell, and the others took themselves to flight.

That night they were compelled to lie off the shore, in an open boat only 16 feet overall, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and in danger, every instant, of being carried on shore with the heavy swell of the sea.

Daylight presented hosts of the ferocious tribes to notice; numbers were armed in the cloathing they had obtained from the wreck, and they seemed, from being equipped with spears and paddles, to be in fond expectancy that the boat, with those on board, would soon be at their disposal, but a gracious and benign Providence, ever watchful of its creatures, hovered over and preserved them.

On the 8th instant, Captain Heany bid farewell to the scene of his calamity, and shortly after reached Montague Island off Mount Dromedary, where they remained a few hours in order to

retreat. Provisions soon became exhausted, having been compelled to leave the wreck, so suddenly as to preclude the possibility of procuring sufficient supplies, or even knowledge of it, when coast rice seemed dubious, and had abundance lost their portion at this critical juncture, the boat was too small to admit any greater bulk than it contained. So reduced the sufferers became at length, that they were constrained to subsist on shell-fish, or any other article that might obtrude itself on the beach, and what contributed to render their situation the more forlorn and tragic, was that of beholding the shores as they passed lined with the barbarous tribes.

On Montague Island some nuts were found in a native hut, recently abandoned; eagerly and ravenously they were devoured, but they disagreed with those that partook of them, so much so, that Captain Heany declares he has not yet recovered from the pernicious effects produced by them.

After a sustenance of remarkable hardships, in which hunger was a principal one, they fortunately succeeded in arriving at the Five Islands, which grateful occurrence happened this day week, after a miserable confinement of ten days and as many nights. On landing Captain Heany proceeded (as well as he was able) to the farm of John Oxley, Esq. where Mrs Heany with her servant maid was kindly received, and the fatigued and worn out crew comfortably lodged and hospitably entertained.

To the overseer on the above Gentleman's estate, as well as all the men under his charge, every possible commendation is due, and it is Captain Heany's wish that their benevolence and humanity should be recorded, which we feel happy in complying with.

Yesterday afternoon Capt. Heany, wife, servant maid, and three men, came to Sydney over-land and the boat, with the other six men, arrived at the King's Wharf in the evening, the whole of whom are, considering all circumstances, in tolerable health.

The *Sirbad*, Mr Simpson master, we are informed, proceeds immediately to the wreck of the schooner *Mary*, in order to recover the cargo left on the beach by Captain Heany.

#### Aboriginal Tribes of the Sydney District

15 November 1821. The missionary W. Walker writes to Reverend Walton in England describing the Aboriginal tribes in the vicinity of Sydney (Mitchell Library, Banwick Transcripts, Box 52, pp. 600-9, CY1814).

Wesleyan Mission House

Parramatta 15th Novr 1821  
To Revd. Richard Walton

My very dear Father

It appears most probable that I shall fix my first tabernacle at Bethel, among the Aborigines. This is very necessary, inasmuch as the females who have been nurtured out of the Native Institution, will all run wild, if some measure be not adopted, to prevent them.

I have got two boys to live with me. My institution authorise me to live with no more than one. However, when it is considered, that it is one of the most difficult tasks imaginable to prevail upon one of these Aborigines to stay in company with Europeans, and that when two may be prevailed upon, I shall be indulged with two. The expense of keeping will be considerable, but I hope not more than their improvement and as ultimate usefulness may merit. They are making rapid improvement in English, they attend all our means of grace in Parramatta, they are attentive to and delighted with all they see and hear.

The tribes adjacent are as follows:

*Kissing Point* - some of whom I see every day, and have reason to believe they will settle at Bathurst. Probably not like the whole of them, as they are a most bigotted race of people to the ground on which they were born. This tribe is very small. *Bigjee* *Bigjee* is the Chief.

*Windsor* - whom I have only seen once since I came into the Colony. Last Sunday I rode to Windsor expecting to meet them, but was disappointed.

*Hawkesbury* - part of which tribe have settled at Bathurst. The Chief's name - *Jeremy*

*Mulgoa* - the tribe is not very large - the Chief's name *Mary Mary*

*Liverpool* - not more than 15 to 20. Chief's name *Cogle*. These blacks I think will soon settle.

*Botany Bay* - not numerous, (but very immoral)

*Broken Bay* - numerous. Chief's name *Boongarla*.

*Cow Pasture* - numerous. Chief's name (as nearly as I can pronounce) *Boobenin*.

*Pine Islands* - numerous - fierce - cannibals

Probably the last mentioned will be among the last that shall be civilized.

The language of all these tribes are different so much so that one tribe rarely understands another in every particular. Some of the former tribes speaks the English very moderately. But I think it most likely to conduce to usefulness to establish the English among the former tribes.

Yours &c &c  
W Walker

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#### Charles Throsby to Jervis Bay

25 November - 9 December 1821. Charles Throsby travels overland from Sutton Forest to west of Jervis Bay in order to survey a possible overland route to the coast. He also kept a journal of the trip (AONSW, Reel 6034, 92743, pp 225-34).

The following extracts make reference to the local Aborigines encountered during the expedition, and the actions of Throsby's own native guides.

Wu-n-gu-naa  
Saturday Novr 29th

Coy light cloudy, heavy thunder during the night, set out eastward down the meadows, crossing several points of poor forest, where the natives discovered the track of a person with shoes on, and two natives without, on following which they found a blue cup that had been dropped a day or two before....

Mun-ga-loon  
Sunday Novt 30

At day light cloudy heavy thunder and rain during the night with appearance of rain, we therefore removed up the stream to find some stringy bark trees, of the bark of which got the natives to make two Canoes. These we secured together by two sticks across them, and placed the river in them, with all our provisions &c. in perfect safety, having swam the horses over by the same assistance.

Um-bu-long  
Tuesday Dec 2nd

Day light cloudy, light rain all night. Set out at 9 o'clock to the eastward, through a poor and rotten brush, for about 2 miles, to a good forest, with a considerable stream running to the left, out of the broken mountainous Country, to the southward passing this stream. At about 4 miles we got into so absolutely a barren, rocky, and broken country that we were obliged to return, and retrace the route, to attempt a passage lower down, when we found a Tribe of Natives (some of whom I had seen at Sutton Forest several times) consisting of five or six men and a number of women and children. The weather setting into rain, halted near the natives Camp for the night.

Course this day E S E abt. 4 miles

The natives who accompanied us, having got into conversation with the tribe near us, were told by them, that they had seen the white person, and the two natives, whom we had previously seen the tracks of, that the white Persons name was Hamilton (Hamilton Hume I judged) the two natives with him was Cowpeaturn Jack (Brother to Dool) the other named Uncle duck.

This man had been kept, and fed at my request, by Mr Jenkins stockman, at his establishment in Argyleshire, for more than a month previous, for the purpose of accompanying me, but to my great surprise, on my arrival at Mr J's place, I found him gone a few days previous, with the Car we had seen the track of. The Natives further informed me that the white man and two Natives had gone from this place.

We had the day before seen the Huts they slept in, to the top of a very high hill then in sight, called Bur-oo-oo, and Tombe had then misgivings, that is, looked all around.

The white man had a Book in which he wrote something, and then returned by a Country called by them Aro-roo-koo, then through the rocks to Taliawas where Mr Jenkins stock are stationed.

The tribe of natives we were with consisted of five men, thirteen women and 17 children. Several of the elder women were much marked by Small Pox. On making some inquiries respecting the great proportion of Women to Men, they informed me a number of Men had died the Winter before last, and that one of the Men then there had four Wives and of them and another three.

There appears a distinct difference in the mode of employ of the sexes in procuring the food for their subsistence. The Men take the task of looking for exposure, hunting Kangaroo, and in fact procuring all the animal food they eat, the women procuring a sort of small Yam, native Carrots, and picking berries that are very adapted to the taste. They are ripe at the time season of the year, of which they devour prodigious quantities, and are very fond of them.

Woo-ga-ga  
Wednesday Decr 3rd

Weather cloudy. Set out at eight o'clock. One of the natives (Wuday) who we found yesterday volunteered to accompany us...

(The party then struggled on to the 7th when they reached sight of Jervis Bay. Throsby however decided to turn back to Sutton Forest due to the inclement weather.)

### Exploration of the Clyde River

15 December 1821 - (Sydney Gazette) Report on Lieutenant Robert Johnston's party at the Clyde River

They arrived off Botany Bay in the cutter Snapper on 29 November, and, as Lt. Johnston reports, proceeded to investigate the Clyde River flowing into the Bay.

On my way up I saw several Native Fins near the banks. At one place I landed, taking with me the two Natives who accompanied me from Sydney, upon which we were met by a Tribe of them, who showed no symptoms of hostility towards us, but entered freely into conversation, and, through my Interpreter, learnt the particulars of the melancholy loss of Mr Stewart and his boat's crew, an aborigine of a Man by the name of Briggs, and his companions, who some time since deserted from the Colony in a whale boat, viz., Stewart, losing his boat near Two-fold Bay, was endeavouring to make his way back by land, in which effort he was cut off by the Natives of Two-fold Bay. Briggs, and his companions, were lost in Botany Bay, by the boat having upset; and being so far from the land, were not able to reach the shore.

This was the account received from them, but, from my own observations, seeing Knives, Tomahawks, and part of the boat's gear in their Huts, I am induced to think they suffered the same fate as the unfortunate Stewart.

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20 December 1821 - (Sydney Gazette) Report on the expeditions of Charles Throsby & Hunter to Jersey Bay.

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### The Biggs Enquiry

[1821] Charles Throsby gives evidence to Commissioner Biggs regarding the Aborigines at Shoalhaven [Mitchell Library Boreack Transcript, Box 5, pp 2217-2218]

Q Are the natives numerous at Shoalhaven  
 Ans More so than in the interior, but the number altogether is very insignificant  
 Q Have they diminished lately  
 Ans I think they have  
 Q From what cause  
 Ans I think from the use of spirituous liquors in some degree and from a different sort of food to which they have been unaccustomed  
 Q What are the diseases by which they are particularly affected  
 Ans Inflammation of the lungs principally, it attacks them in the cold weather and it hastens by the use of spirituous liquors

## Murder, Scientific Curiosity, and Religious Imposition

### 1822 - 1829

1822 was a year containing two relatively significant events in the history of Illawarra. One is well known, and has appeared in most histories of the area. The other is somewhat of a mystery. Both concern the local Aboriginal people.

Firstly - early in 1822 Governor Macquarie visited Illawarra just prior to his return to England, and had a brief meeting with the local settlers and Aboriginal people.

Macquarie's visit has been portrayed as significant in the history of the district, yet the second incident - the murder of an Aboriginal woman by Seth Hawker - occurred later in the year and was probably more important in revealing the state of relations between whites and the local Aborigines.

Also during this year Alexander Berry made his first visit to the Shoalhaven River, in anticipation of settling there. He was subsequently to play a major role in the fate of the local Aboriginal people, setting up a major agricultural and dairy establishment at Coolangatta, eventually encompassing over 10000 acres.

The paired 1828-29 saw further expansion of white settlement into Illawarra and along the South Coast, along with increasing numbers of visitors interested in the picturesque qualities and scientific aspects of the district. This latter group included a French scientific expedition and a Wesleyan missionary in 1828, both of whom recorded valuable summary accounts of aspects of the culture of the local Aborigines during their brief visits.

### 1822

11 January 1822 [Sydney Gazette] Report on Hamilton Hume's overland journey from Appin to Jervis Bay during November-December, whereas he was accompanied by the Aborigines Urko-duck and Coopasture Jack

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### Governor Macquarie at Illawarra

15 January 1822: Governor Macquarie and party briefly meet with a group of approximately 100 Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines at Allens Farm, near Red Point (Lachlan Macquarie, *Journal of Tours*, Public Library of New South Wales, Sydney, 1859)

... We crossed the entrance of Tom Thum's Lagoon which was at the time dry, and soon afterwards arrived at Mr Allens lands, meeting there with about 100 natives, who had assembled at this place to meet and welcome me to Illawarra. They were of various tribes, and some of them had come all the way from Jenks Bay, and they appeared to be very intimate with Mr O'Brien. They all knew who I was, and most of them pronounced my name (Govt. Macquarie) very distinctly. They were very civil, and I regretted exceedingly that I had no tobacco for them.

Having remained with them for about ten minutes, we resumed our journey to Mr Allens establishment.

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30-31 January 1822: Alexander Berry visits Jenks Bay (Berry Papers, volume 3, no 7, Mitchell Library)

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January 1822: Alexander Berry *Journal of a voyage in the Shipper from Sydney to Montagu Island* (Berry Papers, volume 3, no 6, Mitchell Library, A291)

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### William Keama - Lake George to Batemans Bay

30 January - 18 February 1822: A party, consisting of William Keama, Masters, Marsh and Packard, and Aboriginal guides, travel overland from the southern end of Lake George towards Batemans Bay, to investigate the possibility of a road to the coast and survey the intervening land.

Keama kept a journal (AGNSW, Reel 6034, 9/2744, pp 1-15) which refers sparingly to the local Aborigines. He did not observe their fire until 8 February, and recorded the following on Sunday, 10 February, near Budwing:

... After travelling about 6 miles SE we left our Horses & ascended a high Hill, from which we discovered the Sea about 8 or 10 miles off to the East S E at the same time we saw the Pigeon House bearing by Compass N N E 7 or 8 leagues, between us and the Pigeon House we saw Batemans Bay about ten miles distant. There appeared to us a light of the Sea a little to the Southward of us.

On account of the great number of Native Flocks we then saw in all Directions and our Party being small we thought it most prudent not to approach the Sea Coast any nearer. We therefore returned knowing that the Natives in the Quarter are very hostile...

[Monday, 11 February] At 8:30 AM loaded our Pack Horses & resumed our Journey. On our return after travelling up the side of the Run of Water to the West until 10 AM we discovered several Natives on the opposite side of the Stream.

On our nearer approach the Natives we had with us spoke to them when we found they belonged to the Coast but had come up here to hunt. After speaking to them for some time they came across the Stream when we gave them some Bread which they afterwards took back again to their Wives. They agreed to come and show us a good road to Jacqueau (where Mr Inch are stationed).

On enquiry they told us the name of the Hill we were on, next to the sea, is called Manera. The name of the place we slept at Kimby, and the name of a remarkable Hill across the Shoal Haven River to the Westward is called Geeng-ung.

We got two Natives, a Man and a Boy, to accompany us. The name of the one was Terribilly, the other Murrah bingah, & the Boy Cumambah. They informed us that the River which we supposed to be the Shoal River Haven was really it. They also inform'd us that the River in which we found the Limestone is Jullergung & the Native names of the Plants we discovered are Moofing goolagh. They also inform'd us that Murrumbidge River runs into the Sea on the West side of New Holland where there is abundance of such stone as we shew'd them (Lime Stone) near the sea ...

[The following night they slept by the Shoal Haven River at a place called 'Wanahboobidge']

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8 April 1822: Charles Throsby despatches a letter to Alexander Berry via the native Broughton, expressing interest in Berry's plan to cut cedar and establish a settlement at Shoalhaven.

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15 April 1822: Seth Hawker murders an Aboriginal woman at Illawarra. See below for detailed account

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#### Alexander Berry at Shoalhaven

May 1822: Alexander Berry establishes a settlement at Coolangatta, on the Shoalhaven River. The following summary account of that initial settlement appeared in 1975 (W A Bayley, Shoalhaven, 1975, pp 24-25):

The Aborigines were found by Berry in 1822 to be ferocious and were driven away by the surveyors and woodcutters. For a year or two they stole maize and potatoes. Several weeks after the first arrival of the party at Shoalhaven about 25 came and camped near Berry's settlement. These were two chiefs - Wagan, chief of Numba or Shoalhaven, and Yager, chief of Jervis Bay. Berry took the two as part of the crew of a cutter to Sydney and return.

[For details of the initial settlement at Coolangatta refer Berry's reminiscences of 1838 and 1871.]

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21 June - 23 July 1822: Alexander Berry 'Diary of expedition to the Shoalhaven River, June 21 - July 23, 1822' (Mitchell Library, B987, CY Reel 1287)

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**The Trial of Beth Hawker  
For the Murder of an Aboriginal Woman at Illawarra**

1822

**Sequence of Events**

15 April 1822: Early in the morning of Sunday, 15 April, the convict Beth Hawker (per Lord Eldon, 1817), an overseer at Captain Richard Brooks' farm at Illawarra, in company with John Neale and Thomas Binkin, shoots at, and sets his dogs upon, an Aboriginal woman, supposedly in the act of stealing his master's corn.

Hawker then returns to his hut, reloads his gun, and again confronts the woman, asking 'Name, name, name?' When he receives no answer, he shoots the woman in the stomach and watches as the dogs maul her.

Other convicts arrive and call both Hawker and the dogs off the woman, before returning to their huts.

The woman dies in the field shortly thereafter, unattended, apparently from a large gunshot wound in the stomach, and large dog bites in the left thigh and stomach.

Later that morning Hawker and others in his party return to the scene and upon finding the woman dead Hawker is immediately despatched to Appin to report to the nearest Constable, namely Joseph Daniell.

16 April. Beth Hawker reports to Constable Joseph Daniell at Appin. He states that he shot and killed a black woman, and that William Graham had previously cut off the hand of one of the black natives. Daniell reports to Captain Brooks and later arrests Hawker and Graham.

24 April: The Bench of Magistrates at Campbelltown sit and take the Deposition of Joseph Daniell, Constable of the Five Islands. Magistrates present include Charles Throsby, William Howe, and Thomas Reddall. Hawker and Graham are granted bail.

10 May: The Colonial Secretary (Major Goulburn) writes to the Judge Advocate (John Wyke) requesting information on the Beth Hawker murder case.

25 May: The Colonial Secretary writes to Thomas Reddall requesting information and depositions.

27 May: Constable Robert Burke arrives in Illawarra to carry out further investigations.

28 May: Thomas Reddall despatches the first lot of Depositions to the Colonial Secretary. The Deposition of Robert Burke is also taken at Campbelltown on this day.

3 June: The depositions of John and William Neale (Captain Brooks' overseers), and Thomas Tool and Thomas Binkin (Captain Brooks' servants), are taken at Macquarie Field, before Thomas Reddall.

5 June: The deposition of William Graham Junior is taken at Macquarie Field. Thomas Reddall despatches a second lot of depositions to the Colonial Secretary.

9 June: Trial of Beth Hawker at Sydney Criminal Court. Beth Hawker is subsequently acquitted and William Graham is never brought to trial.

14 June: Sydney Gazette: Report on the trial of Beth Hawker and the William Graham incident.

Over the following pages the surviving accounts of the Seth Hawker incident, including transcripts of evidence, are reproduced. Unfortunately the transcripts of evidence / statements given by both Seth Hawker and William Graham have not been located. The majority of documents are located at AONBWN, Coll. Sec. 4/1798, Ref. 6054.

A discussion of this case by the editor is located at the conclusion of the transcripts.

[NB: In the following transcriptions, punctuation has been added to remove ambiguity.]

#### Trial Transcripts and Depositions

24 April: Deposition of Joseph Daniell, Constable of the Five Islands, taken at Campbelltown

The King and the Prosecution  
vs  
Seth Hawker

Joseph Daniell  
Murder

#### The Deposition of Joseph Daniell

Witness - Joseph Daniell and Peter Burke

The Witness Joseph Daniell is a Constable residing at the Five Islands and Robt. Burke resides in the District of Ards.

Committed 24th April 1823 By the Revd. T. Reddall

The King on the Prosecution of  
Joseph Daniell agt  
Seth Hawker

For shooting  
Black Native  
Woman at the  
Five Islands

Deposition taken before the Revd. T. Reddall, Charles Throsby and William Howe Esqr. in the Court room at Campbell Town the 24 April 1823.

Joseph Daniell being duly sworn on his oath states that he is a Constable at the Five Islands. That on the 18th day of the present month, Seth Hawker came to this DepONENT and informed him he had shot a Black Native woman on the preceding morning about the time the moon was rising and desired this DepONENT to go up to accollect His Master Captain Brooks (with whom the Prisoner lives as an Overseer), and in the event of his Master not being at the farm, to report it to the first Magistrate he could find.

The Prisoner at the same time informed this DepONENT that when he shot the woman she was coming out of a paddock with some Corn in a Net, which Corn she had stolen from the Premises and that another person of the name of William Graham had previously cut one of the Black Native's hands off.

And this DepONENT further states that he immediately came up the Country and reported the matter to Captain Brooks who gave him an order to apprehend the Prisoner Seth Hawker and the said William Graham, whom he took without resistance and came here without any hesitation or trouble to DepONENT.

#### Questions by the Court

Were you ever cautioned by the Overseer to caution the Natives from stealing his Masters Corn?

Answer - No

Have you been to the house of the Prisoner or near to the spot the Native is said to have been shot since the transaction?

Answer - No

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10 May: The Colonial Secretary (Major Goulburn) writes to the Judge Advocate (John Wyld) requesting information on the Seth Hawker murder case.

Judge Adv. Office  
10 May 1822

Sir

Having this day received certain information as to the death of two black Natives near three weeks since in terms of Blowers in consequence of wounds from guns fired at them by certain persons on the spot and in respect of which no Depositions have been yet forwarded to this office, I take the liberty of communicating the Circumstance, as also to submit whether proper directions from the Colonial Government should not be issued immediately to obtain the most full and determinate information upon the subject.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient  
humble servant  
Jno Wyld  
Judge Adv. NSW

Having done myself the honor to forward your letter of 10 ult to the Bench of Magistrates before whom the investigation took place relating to the death of certain Natives in the district of Five Islands, I have been given to understand that the requisite depositions have lately been forwarded to your office, any further inquiry upon my part will be unnecessary.

[Major Goulburn]

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20 May: Reverend Thomas Reddall, magistrate at Appin (then called Macquarie Field) despatches depositions re the Seth Hawker murder case to the Judge Advocate:

Macquarie Field  
May 20th 1822

Sir

I had the honor to receive, late last evening, your favor of the 25th inst. with the accompanying letter, to your address, from the Judge Advocate, and I lost no time in transmitting, to you, the required proceedings touching the unfortunate circumstances alluded to by that gentleman.

When your favor came to hand Depositions were being prepared for despatch to the Judge's Office, of which the enclosed are five copies of those, which relate to the murder of the black

native woman at the Ilawarra, by Seth Hawker, and to the injury sustained by a blackman there, from William Graham.

On perusing these Documents, it will, I think, appear, that no blame whatever can be imputed, in this case, to either of my brother Magistrates, who did me the honor to form a Bench with me, on the day the first Investigation took place, with respect to the rash proceedings of those men.

If any subsequent neglect has taken place, with reference to the transmission of the enclosed papers, I alone am chargeable with it, although I am not sensible of having taken into any, and I would indeed be most happy if His Excellency be not under an impression that I have done so. Indeed I have been most anxious to obtain every possible information on the subject, and was desirous to send the whole to the Judge Advocate's Office together whereon on learning that the black man, whom W-Graham wounded, had died of the wounds he (Graham) had inflicted on the poor man, I immediately despatched an Officer, to the Five Islands, to take into custody, the said W-Graham, (who was admitted to bail on the 24th ult for his appearance when called for) - to bring him before me to be forwarded onto Sydney, to procure whilst on the spot every additional information in his power, - to bring with him any person, or persons he might find whose circumstances to be essential witnesses in the case, - and to make known if possible, to the natives, (the necessity there will be for two or more of them, who might be present when the black man was injured by Graham to proceed, without delay to Sydney, to give their evidence on the trial.

I shall do myself the honor to make further communications to you, immediately on the arrival of my Constable from the Ilawarra. In the meantime,

Yours  
the honor to be  
Sir

your very obedt  
Humble Servt:  
Thos Reddall J.P

To F Goulburn Esq  
Col Secy  
Sc &c &c

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28 May Deposition of Robert Burke taken at the Court Room in Campbell Town

The King against Seth Hawker  
For shooting a Black Native Woman

Robert Burke being duly sworn on oath saith that he is a constable in the District of Ands. That on the 24th Day of April last he was sent (by the Reverend T. Reddall and other Magistrates assembled at Campbell Town) to the Five Islands, to make diligent inquiry and endeavour to ascertain the cause of a Black Native Woman's Death, who it was supposed had been shot by one Seth Hawker.

That in pursuance of such Authority this DepONENT did immediately repair to the Five Islands where he arrived on the 27th of April and being accompanied by Patrick Hopkins, Peter Hall, William Davis, and Joseph Daniell, proceeded to the place where the Black Native Woman was buried, which was about one hundred Rods from the lance where some Corn was growing, and Forty Rods from the place where it is said the Black Native had been shot.

This DepONENT then with the before named Persons removed the soil which covered the Body of the deceased, and when properly taken away the corpse was well wasted. DepONENT then in the presence of the above named Persons examined the Body and found several wounds on the Abdomen which appeared to have been made with large shot and also a large hole on the left side

of the Belly near to the thigh, which appeared to have been bitten by a Dog, the left thigh had also the appearance of Bites by Dogs, which DepONENT believes was the cause of the woman's Death. DepONENT further saith that from the Putrid state of the Body the Corpse could not be removed and that the Body was then re-covered with soil.

DepONENT further saith that he believes from the conversation he had with one Thomas Bleasby who lives at the Five Islands and is a servant to Captain Brooks a material witness to prove the cause of the deceased's death.

**Questions to the DepONENT**

Did you make any inquiry when you went to investigate the aforesaid Case (as directed by the Bench) of The Black Man that was cut and maimed by William Graham a settler at the Five Islands?

Ans: Yes I did.

Did you find that the report respecting the injury the Black Man had sustained from the said William Graham to be correct?

Ans: Yes I did.

Did you see the Black Native man that was injured by the said Wm. Graham?

Ans: I did not.

Why did you not?

Ans: Because the Blacks ran away on being informed that the Constable had arrived and that they had gone so far into the interior from alarm that pursuit was fruitless.

Did you understand through any channel that the wounds the man had received were likely to prove fatal?

Ans: Yes I did from one Charles Matthews a Stock keeper to Mr Badgery.

Did you find from any inquiry that the attack by William Graham on the Black Native was Unprovoked?

Ans: No I did not.

(Signed) Robert Burke

I do hereby certify that this is a true copy of the Deposition sworn to by the DepONENT Robert Burke before me at the Court Room in Campbell Town this Twenty Eighth Day of May 1822.

Thos. Reddall J P

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The King  
vs  
Seth Neale

Court Room Macquarie Field  
June 3rd 1822 Before  
the Revd T. Reddall

**Deposition of William Neale**

William Neale being duly sworn on his oath saith that he is an Overseer to Captain Brooks at Denham Court and that he is stationed at Mr Brooks farm in Appen. That about the middle of the month of April last he went with his Brother to Mr Brooks' farm at the Five Islands and that very

early on the Monday morn, after their arrival Dept. heard the Dogs making a great noise and he awoke Thomas Binkin who got up and went out of doors, and immediately he heard the report of a Gunshot.

In a short time John Neale and Seth Hawker, who had left the house before he awoke, returned bringing with them a net containing Com. That Seth Hawker then loaded the Gun and with great speed repaired to the place where the Dogs continued to bark. Dept. who was then in the rear, heard Seth Hawker call out very loudly "Name, Name, Name", and said that on no answer being made he heard a Gun fired.

Dept, John Neale, and Thomas Binkin then came up to Seth Hawker and Thomas Pool to the spot where the black native lay, the Dogs being in the act of worrying her. Dept. said that his Brother then told them to take the Dogs away and ordered them to return to the house taking the Dogs along with them.

That at daylight, in the morning, Dept in company with the aforesaid persons went out to see if they could find any other persons about, and for a Dog belonging to Dept which was missing, and not being able to find the Dog, they went to the spot where the deceased Black Native was left in the early part of the morn, near to which place they found a net filled with Com and the Woman on the spot where she was left after being shot.

That Seth Hawker went to the Woman with an intention to turn her over to see if he knew her. Dept. further said that John Neale desired him not to name the woman but to let her remain in the position she then lay until the case was reported to the constable. That the Dept. with the others then returned to the house and soon afterwards proceeded on their journey to the Kangaroo Ground.

#### Questions to the Deponent.

When you returned from the Body after she had been shot, were the Dogs that you brought to the house shut up or secured from going at large?

Ans. No.

Do you think that the Woman was dead when you left the first time?

Ans. I do not think she was.

How near did you approach to the body in viewing it by daylight?

Ans. About two rods.

Did you discover from the distance you were from the body whether she had been shot?

Ans. No I did not.

Did you perceive any wounds on the body? at all?

Ans. Yes, wounds made by Dogs.

Where they such wounds according to your judgement as to produce the death of the woman?

Ans. I cannot well say, but she was in a sad mangled state.

Have you reason to believe she was shot?

Ans. I cannot positively say as I did not examine the body.

Did you hear when you were down at the Five Islands whether the Black people were accustomed to steal Corn from the Settlers?

Ans. Yes, and that it was so frequently repeated as to be a serious injury to the Settler.

Do you know whether the natives were cautioned against these practices?

Ans. I do not know whether they were or not at that station.

Willm	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Neale
Mark		

I do hereby certify that the above is a true Copy, Thos Reddall, J.P.

#### The Deposition of John Neale

The King	Court Room Macquarteteld
vs	June 3rd 1882 Before
Seth Hawker	The Revd Thomas Reddall J.P.

#### The Deposition of John Neale

John Neale being duly sworn on his oath saith that he is an overseer to Captain Brooks at Denham Court. That about the 12th day of April he arrived at P. Brooks Esquire's Farm at Ilawarra and that about 2 o'clock in the Morning of the 15th he was alarmed by the Dogs barking. Deponent then immediately got out of Bed and called Seth Hawker up chasing him at the same time to get the Gun and go with him out for there was a great noise made by the Dogs, the said Seth Hawker then immediately arose and went in Company with this Dept. (Walking with him a Loaded Gun). The Dept. having no Instrument of Protection, and being naked, did not Proceed to the place where the Dogs were barking, but the said Seth Hawker went there and in a few minutes cried out "Hold him" "Hold him!"

Thomas Binkin, who was sleeping in the house, hearing the exclamations thought there was some body about and immediately came out and said his Old Bitch he was sure had got something in the Corn.

Deponent and Binkin were running to the Spot where they supposed Seth Hawker to be from the Barking of the Dogs, but before they had arrived Seth Hawker had proceeded from the Corn, over the fence, into the standing Timber, and at some distance ahead of Deponent he, the said Seth Hawker, loaded his Gun and in a few minutes returned with a net full of Corn and said he has shot a Black Person.

That the said Seth Hawker still kept encouraging the Dogs and seemed inclined to pursue the Native but Dept. dissuaded him from doing so saying it was dangerous to go without ammunition.

The said Seth Hawker then went back with Dept. to the house, and loaded his Musket and again went out in Company with this Deponent, Binkin, Thomas Tools, and Willm Neale (the Dogs still barking). Seth Hawker ran toward and to the best of Deponent's knowledge was accompanied by Thomas Tools, and after they had Proceeded a short distance Deponent heard Seth Hawker say "Hold him!" "Hold him!"

Deponent then said to them and saying "Catch them if you can, and Handcuff them", and in a few minutes after Dept. heard the report of a gun. He then ran to the Place where he thought the Gun had been fired and saw a Black Native apparently dead.

Dept then desired the said Seth Hawker and the said Thomas Binklin to take their dogs away, they then all entered to the House (leaving the body where Dept first saw it) and remained in the House until daylight when Dept, accompanied by Seth Hawker, William Neale, Thomas Toole, and Benson, went to the spot where Dept saw the Body after the second firing the Gun, and found the body of a Female Black Native, and the said Seth Hawker on approaching the body which lay with its face downwards, was going to turn her round to see if he could identify her Person but Dept told him he thought she had better remain in the Position she was then in until the Constable arrived to examine the Body. Dept then enjoining them to give immediate information to the Constable of the Transaction, proceeded on his journey to the Kangaroo Ground, where he had further business to do on his Master's account.

**Questions to the Deponent**

Did you notice whether the deceased Black Native was Shot when you saw her lying on the Ground the second time when it was light?

Ans: I did not Notice that she was Shot.

Was she Shot to the best of your Belief?

Ans: I cannot say whether she was or not, because I did not examine the Body, but I can presume she was.

Did you see any other wounds on the Body which had not the appearance of wounds caused by the discharge of Shot from a Gun?

Ans: I did.

From what cause do you think that those wounds had been occasioned, if not from being Shot?

Ans: By Laceration from Dogs.

What distance from the Dwelling House did this event take place?

Ans: About 60 Rods.

Was this in the Corn or in the Standing Timber?

Ans: In the Standing Timber.

Do you know whether the Body was Interred on the Spot where you saw it, or removed to any distance for that Purpose?

Ans: It was neither removed nor buried whilst I was there.

As two Shots were fired, do you know whether any other Person was Shot besides the woman you found Dead in the Morning?

Ans: I do not know of any other.

Did you make any search in the morning for any other Person you supposed might be Shot from the first discharge of the Gun?

Ans: Yes, I did.

Did you find on inquiring, or from information whilst you were at Captain Brooks Farm at the Islands, whether the Black People had been in the habit of stealing Corn from the said farm, or whether generally they were addicted to that habit in the Neighbourhood?

Ans: Yes, I was informed by different People that they were continually taking the Corn and whatever they could lay their hands upon.

Do you know whether they had been cautioned against such injustice by Seth Hawker or by others in the Neighbourhood?

Ans: Yes, both by Seth Hawker, and others, and are considered as a nuisance in this respect.  
Signed. John Neale

I do hereby certify that this is a true copy of John Neale's Deposition.  
Thos Reddall J.P.

The King  
v  
Seth Hawker

Ocean Room Macquariefield  
June 3rd 1829 Before  
the Revd. Reddall

The Deposition of Thomas Tool.

Thomas Tool being duly sworn on his Oath saith that he is a servant to Captain Brooks at Durban Court. That in the month of April he went on business (with his master John Neale) for his Master to the Five Islands. That about the second day they arrived at Captain Brooks farm in that neighbourhood and that early on Monday morning after their arrival, the Dogs making a great noise, John Neale got up and went out in company with Seth Hawker, and some time after they had gone out Deponent heard a Gun fired.

That immediately after, they came back to the house to load the Gun, bringing with them a net, similar to those used by the Black Natives, containing Corn in the Cob with some shal'd, some grass, a fish line, and one bone, and desired Deponent to get up for the Natives were shooting the Corn.

Dep: states that he then got up and went out with John Neale, William Neale, Seth Hawker and Thos Benson, and with shot as he was in fear of being speared by the natives. He was a noise to go with Hawker who had the Gun, supposing it would be a protection, and consequently proceeded with him, passing by the others and went thro' the Corn to the place where the Dogs were barking in the standing timber, and perceived something like a Black Native running at about twenty yards distance.

That Seth Hawker then called out very loud "What name? What name? What name?" and on no answer being made he, Seth Hawker, fired off the Gun. That Dep: then with the said Seth Hawker approached the Body and found all the Dogs worrying the said Black Native.

Deponent further saith that John Neale coming up at the same time desired them to call the Dogs away and told all the others to go to the house. That they then returned to the house and there remained till daylight, and that about six o'clock they all went out together to look if the black native who had been killed was still remaining on the spot. That on their arrival they found the black native who was a female laying with her face on the ground, and that John Neale then caused to send Seth Hawker to go and report the transaction to the constable and would not suffer her to be removed or her position altered until the Constable had viewed the Body.

Deponent saith he then returned with the said John Neale to the house and from a crowd of the natives they hurried away on further business to the Kangaroo Ground.

## Questions to the Depoent

Did you hear when you were in pursuit of the natives in company with Seth Hawker any one calling to you and saying catch them, and handuff them?

Ans: Yes.

Who called out to you to do so?

Ans: John Neale.

What distance was the Black Native off when Seth Hawker fired the Gun at her?

Ans: About twenty yards.

Do you think that the Black Woman could have been taken into custody without shooting her?

Ans: I cannot say for we at that time were in great fear and expected that there were other natives at hand who would spear us.

Do you think that Seth Hawker was under that influence of fear when he fired at her?

Ans: Yes I do.

What induced you to believe that there were other natives on the spot and that you were in danger of being speared?

Ans: From the great noise the Dogs continued to make, we were induced to believe there were some more natives and that we anticipated danger from the treachery of those people.

Did you hear whilst you were there that the Black Natives were in the habit of stealing Corn from Captain Brooks or generally in the Neighbourhood?

Ans: Yes, I did.

Do you know whether the natives had been cautioned against such unjust practices, and warned them acting so by Seth Hawker?

Ans: Yes.

When did you hear the caution given by Seth Hawker to the natives?

Ans: At the time I was down below.

How long is that ago?

Ans: I think it was in March last.

Thomas	his X mark	Tools
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I hereby certify that the above is a true copy.

Thos Reddal J.P.

The King  
vs  
Seth Hawker

Court Room, Macquariefield  
June 3rd 1882 Before the  
Reverend Thos Reddall

Deposition of Thos. Binkin

Thomas Binkin being duly sworn on his oath saith that he is a servant to Captain Brook's residing on his farm at the Five Islands. That about two o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 15th day of April last he was awoke by William Neale who said the dogs were making a great noise. That the Dept. then got up and went out of doors and heard the dogs still continuing to bark, and going into the Corn about eighty yards from the house called out to the Dogs "Hold them, Hold them" and immediately afterwards heard the report of a Gun.

Dept. saith that he shortly after met Seth Hawker with a Net full of Corn which he said he had found, and that they all returned to the house leaving this Dept. in the Corn searching for other Black people. That in a short time they returned to the Corn and passing thro' it in pursuit of the natives into the standing timber. Dept. shortly heard Seth Hawker call out "Name, Name" several times and no answer being returned a Gun was fired.

Dept. then went near to the place where the Dogs were worrying a Black Native and John Neale desired the Dogs might be taken away and all of them to return to the house where they remained till daylight next morning.

Dept. further saith that as soon as it was day light they all went out in search of a little Dog which they had missed and coming to the spot where they had left the Black Native the early part of the morning they found her lying there and dead. That they were then ordered by John Neale not to touch the body until it had been received by the Constable. That Seth Hawker gave the necessary communications to the Constable, as soon as he could but that in consequence of other duties the Constable had to attend, he could not see the body before it was necessary to inter it, which was done by this deponent.

Questions to the Deponent

How far was the body from the Corn when you found it?

Ans: Twenty thirty rods.

Did you examine the body at the time you interred it?

Ans: I did not particularly.

Did you see any wounds on the body?

Ans: Yes, I did.

What was the nature of the wounds you saw on the body of the deceased?

Ans: The wounds appeared to be caused from being bitten by Dogs.

Did you not examine the body in conjunction with Robt Burke, a Constable, sent to examine into the state of the transaction?

Ans: No, I only uncovered the body, and did not examine it.

Can you say as you now stand upon your oath that you discovered wounds (that could be distinguished from the others) occasioned by shot from the discharge of a Gun?

Ans: No, I cannot say that I did.

Did you remove the body (or for interment) from the spot where you first saw it lie dead?

Ans: Yes, I buried it about 2 yards from the spot.

When Seth Hawker was in pursuit, a second time, of the Black Natives, did you hear any one call to hand out them?

Ans: Yes I did.

Who was it who thus called to him?

Ans: John Neale.

Was this before or after he fired the Gun the second time?

Ans: I cannot recollect.

Are the natives troublesome about there with respect to their generally stealing from the settlers?

Ans: Yes they are.

What are they in the habit of generally stealing?

Ans: Corn, potatoes or anything else they can lay their hands on.

Have they ever been cautioned against this conduct?

Ans: Yes, frequently and generally in the neighbourhood.

Have you ever experienced any violence from the natives?

Ans: No, but they have frequently threatened to kill me, to burn the wheat, and fire the house.

Why have they done this? Is it because you have refused to supply their wants?

Ans: I believe it is, which cannot always be done, on our limited allowance, and about three months ago they forced me to dig up my potatoes for them, threatening to spear me if I did not.

Did you dig them up?

Ans: Yes I did and gave them to them

H.S.  
Thomas    X    Boston  
mark

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6 June: Thomas Reddell transmits further depositions and details relevant to the case

Macquarie Field  
June 5th 1822

Sir

I have now the honor to transmit to you a further detail of proceedings arising out of the cases of Seth Hawker, and William Graham.

I hoped to have done so, and should have had that satisfaction, a few days sooner, but a principal witness being left behind at the Bowers, by a mistake of the Constable who had been dispatched there with summonses, obliged me to send again to that distant Station, and has caused the delay I was anxious to avoid.

At the request of Daniel Brady a Settler in Ards, who sometimes ago had a man of the name of Daniel McSleary transferred to him out of Brisbane's Road Party. I inclose a certificate he has procured from Brisbane. As this Certificate was sent to me only an hour or two ago, I have not had an opportunity of making any inquiries on the subject, but should you wish any further information to guide you with respect to that man, I would with great pleasure procure, and transmit it.

Mr Woodhouse, in the District of Appin, is badly in want of a shepherd, and Edward Taylor, and John Burnside, in the District of Ards, want a laborer each.

I have, the Honor,  
to be, Sir,

your obedt: humble  
Servt  
Thos Reddell  
J P

To  
F Goulburn Esqr  
Colonial Secretary  
&c &c &c  
Sydney

The King  
W  
William Graham Junr  
Court Room/Macquarie Field  
June 29th 1822:  
Before the Revd T Reddell J P

The deposition of William Graham

William Graham Junr being duly sworn on his oath saith that about the middle of April on going into his Father's Corn, he observed that a considerable quantity of it had been taken and that a lusty Black Native of the name of Murrary informed his Father William Graham in Dept's presence that three Black Men had stolen the Corn they had misaid, this said Murrary informing them at the same time that the said three Black Men, with five others whom they intended to bring with them, would come in four days time to take more Corn out of his Father's Field.

In consequence of this information Dept with his Father and Mother watched the Corn till about 12 or 1 o'clock on the night the Black Natives said they intended to come for the purpose of stealing it, but not coming by that time they left the field and went to Bed, and soon after they had retired to rest, the Dog made a noise and this DepONENT saith that his Father immediately got up and went out taking with him a Gun and went to the Corn.

DepONENT saith he also went out with a Gun accompanied by his Mother to the upper part of the Corn, whilst his Father went to the lower but they did not see any Natives in the Corn, they having as it would appear made their escape, as some Corn was again taken and as DepONENT's Father, when he came up to the depONENT and his Mother, said he heard them talk at a short distance over the creek.

DepONENT further saith that they continued watching for some time and finding that they did not return & the moon then giving a considerable light, they all went again to Bed, and in the morning going to the Field found the Corn to have been taken in a considerable quantity from the stalks from almost every part of which the Corn was growing.

After having made it this DepONENT further saith that he and his Father went in pursuit of the Natives, each having with him a Gun and shortly met with two Black Native men fishing, Murrary and Nolloger. DepONENT's Father told Murrary that his Corn had been taken and asked him if he

know who had stolen it. Murray said he did not, but accompanied them to the field and requested defendant's Father to show him the toolmarks and having seen them he immediately gave in Depts presence the names of the persons whose foot marks they were.

The Defendant further saith that amongst the number named by Murray were Coma Conta and his wife, and the said Murray told this Defendant and Father to come after him and he would soon find them, and after some pursuit which was directed by the footprints and Com lying here and there in their track, they at length arrived at the place where some Black Natives were.

That on their near approach the Black Natives who had accompanied this Defendant and his Father ran to them for the purpose (as he supposed) of giving them information that they might make their escape. That Defendant and his Father on a nearer approach discovered five men two of whom they came up with. The others were running away at a Distance. That on coming up very near to Conta and another to whom Defendant's Father said to stop & to give up the Com which they were carrying away with them, and they not paying attention to his request, as the Defendant's Father shot at one of them and wounded him in the legs and he left, but instantly getting up, and leaving the Com ran away. Conta Conta then ran and got four spears and being in the act of preparing to throw one of them at Defendant's Father, he, Defendant's Father, immediately ran up to him and taking the spears out of his hand broke them to pieces, the said Conta Conta then ran and took up a Tomahawk which lay on the ground and with it made a blow at his Father, who at the same time struck the said Conta Conta upon the shoulder with a cutlass which blows made a deep incision. Conta Conta then made another blow with the Tomahawk at the lower part of the Body of this Defendant's Father, who warded it off by another blow with the cutlass which cut off part of the said Conta Conta's arm a little above wrist.

Conta Conta then ran away leaving a net of Com securely tied up with stringy bark, a Tomahawk, and two bundles of Green Tobacco, which Defendant and his Father took home with them.

Questions to the Defendant

Who grows Tobacco in the neighbourhood you reside?

Ans. Nobody grows it in that neighbourhood but my Father.

Had you kill'd any Tobacco before you went in pursuit of the Natives?

Ans. Yes

In what state was the Tobacco which was left by the Natives at the place where the conflict happened between your Father and the Black Man before named and which you and your Father took away with you?

Ans. Green & fresh

Did it appear to have been recently pluck'd from the stalks?

Ans. Yes

Were the Natives much in the habit of stealing Com or other things from your Father?

[Ans.] Yes, Com & Potatoes

Have you seen Coma Conta or the Black Man that was shot on the legs by your Father since the conflict with them took place?

Ans. I have not seen either of them since.

Do you know or have you heard whether the wounds inflicted by your Father on the aforesaid Black Native have proved fatal to either of them?

Ans. From what I have heard the wounds have not proved fatal but I have understood that both the men are still recovering.

signed W. Graham June

The Prisoner being called upon for his defence does not deny the charge.  
Signed by the Prisoner Wm. Graham Senr.

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The Court Case

14 June 1822. The following report of the trial of Seth Hawker at Sydney Criminal Court for the murder of the Aboriginal woman at Illawarra in April 1822, appeared in the *Sydney Gazette*.

Criminal Court - Monday - Seth Hawker was indicted for the wilful murder of a black native woman, at Illawarra, or the Five Islands, on the 15th April last.

The principal features attending this case are as follow - The prisoner was an overseer upon an estate at Illawarra, belonging to Captain Brooks (the Magistrate that had committed the prisoner to take his trial for the offence with which he now stood charged before the Court), and, upon the night of the 15th, was alarmed by the violent barking of the dogs upon the farm.

The prisoner was induced to arise, and in company with others proceeded, without hesitation, in the direction to which the watchful animals conducted them. The prisoner was lost sight of for a few moments by his companions, in which interim the discharge of the muzzle was heard, which he had seized in the house upon the first alarm.

When he returned, the prisoner said he thought he had shot something or somebody. He was desirous to return to the dwelling with his companions, and reload the piece, and again went in pursuit, the dogs continuing to bark. The prisoner, with another man, proceeded through a cowfield, which was enclosed, and just as they had quitted it, on the off side, a figure was beheld in the act of endeavouring to effect its flight. The prisoner fired and the poor object fell; which (to be total) turned out to be an unfortunate black native woman. The poor thing, it is supposed, was shot dead, as the body was found next morning much mangled by the dogs. Two nests, such as the natives carry their food in, were found containing shelled maize, one of which was full and held about a peck.

The prisoner was properly advised, by a brother overseer in the same concern, to hasten to the district constable with all speed, and inform him of the unhappy circumstance, so that the nearest Magistrate might become acquainted with the fact, and proceed accordingly. It was proved by the constable that the prisoner followed the directions given him, and hence became committed.

From the whole of the evidence on the part of the prosecution it was easily observable, that no vindictive intention had existed in the mind of the prisoner, nor did any circumstance transpire, during the antecedent examination of the witnessess by His Honor the Judge Advocate, to entice even the most remote degree of manslaughter upon the prisoner.

As was the case in former times, and many years since well to be remembered in consequence of the deserts the settlers that were resort to by the Government for the protection of the settler, and his family, the natives are excessively troublesome and annoying in the neighbourhood of the Five Islands, during the corn season. This last season they had been remarkably active in committing depredations, in the space of one night 150 or two of them would take the liberty of clearing a field of every cob and thus ruin the hopes of a poor hard-working man's family. This

species of bitter robbery had been oft repeated, and the natives became worse daily, purloining everything that came in their way.

One man, in the name of Graham, who had a wife and a large family, was near being killed in the act of pursuing those cattle robbers. One night a party had stripped his field of its produce, and in the morning himself, and eldest son, went in pursuit. They fell in with five of the natives, who had two bags full of the preceding night's spoil. He required them to surrender the corn, when they made off. Graham then fired at the legs of the natives who had the net, when one of them, armed with a bundle of spears, was preparing to throw at Graham, who lost no time in making up to him, and with the butt end of his musket broke all the spears, which would have been immediately discharged at him, had not one of the other natives, who had flown, taken the war-musket with him, to which circumstance Graham and his son, may doubtless owe their lives. The native then took from his girdle a tomahawk, with which he endeavoured to cleave the head of Graham, when the latter, at the same instant, seized from the hand of his son a sword, with which he cut off the hand of the native that held the tomahawk, when the block immediately made off, with the loss of his limb.

This circumstance came out, among others, upon the trial, which shewed that the prisoner was only endeavouring to protect that property that was consigned to his care, though it was to be lamented that a life in such a case had been untimely destroyed.

His Honor the Judge Advocate wished it to be properly and lustily pressed upon the minds of all, that the aboriginal natives have as much right to expect justice at the hands of the British Law, as Europeans, and that such ever would be the case, in this instance it was exemplified.

The prisoner was acquitted, but previous to being liberated from custody, received that pathetic and energetic admonition, which, it is to be anxiously hoped, will ever remain indelibly and probitably stamped upon his conscience.

#### Comments

Frank McCollney, an Hawara historian, recorded the following in one of his notebooks during the 1930s:

Old terrible Billy Graham and James Graham his son were very cruel to the blacks  
- the blacks afterwards hated Scotchmen

The whole case is a sad indictment on 'British justice' during the nineteenth century. The unsavory aspects of this case are many, yet they are so typical of the time that they were not then questioned. They include:

- Despite the abundance of testimony from white people involved in the incident, there was no representation or testimony from a member of the Hawara Aboriginal population at the time. As Aborigines were considered heathens, they could not swear on oath on the Bible, therefore their testimony was not acceptable in Court. With no Aborigines present, and therefore no real prosecution, the case was bound to be prejudiced
- The questions put to the witnesses were leading, to say the least, aiming to highlight any blame which could be placed upon the local Aborigines, and the dead woman
- The plea of protecting one's property was seen as a sufficient excuse for murder. Seth Hawk's fear of attack by Aborigines - whether unprovoked or not - was proposed as reason enough for his actions

- \* There were obvious discrepancies in the testimony, yet those were not investigated by the Court.

In the many instances of conflict between whites and Aborigines in New South Wales around this time, it was quite common for women and children - the males and several of their race - to be killed by white shotguns. That such should be the case is a terrible indictment on the perpetrators who supposedly feared for their lives when they shot innocent natives dead, and in the case of the Seth Hawks' crime, all for a few pieces of corn.

1833

**Barron Field at Illawarra**

October 1833 Barron Field visits Illawarra and Shoalhaven, later describing the trip in his *Geographical Memoir on New South Wales* (John Murray, London, 1825). Extracts referring to the Illawarra Aborigines are printed as follows:

October 20th - Rode to Shoalhaven, thirty six miles still further to the south, six or seven were through a mass of vegetation, requiring pioneers to penetrate it. The wings weathed the trees, like a boa constrictor, and festooned the way... Here we find saw the *septentrional elegans*, a palm equal in size to the cabbage tree, with parrot's tail, or cocoa nut leaves, from the stalks of which the Natives make their water buckets, by tying up each end, like their bark canoes, in the same manner, the dairy turtles make milk pails and cream pails; and of the leaves they make hats and thatch...

In the first part of our journey, this day, we crossed the shallow entrance from the sea of Lake Illawarra - a large opening a little to the south of the Tom Thumb's lagoon. The Lake was illustrated by Natives in their canoes, looking very characteristic and beautiful, now that the progress of English civilization has disarmed this part of the coast of those savage dangers with which it threatened Mr Flinders and Mr Bass, when they were here in the 'Tom Thumb' open boat.

The view was so picturesque - the lake, the hills, and the Aborigines, the spirit of them all - as to deserve a painter.

21st October - Ascended with Mr Berry the mountain called by the Natives 'Coolangatta', under which he is building his house.

22nd October - Went to see the natives fish by torchlight. They make torches of bundles of bark, beaten and tied up and with the light of these scare the bass into motion that lie among the rocky shallows, when they either spear them with the bo-gig, or drag them from under their hiding places with their hand, bite their heads, and throw them high and dry on the shore. The torch is flushed in one hand and the spear pointed in the other - though there were few natives present, the majority being absent feasting upon a whale which chance had thrown upon the coast. The natives attribute the whale to the kind protection of the spirits of their fathers, whom they believed to be transformed into porpoises after death, and who in that shape drive the whales on shore. With this view, the natives obsecrate the porpoises by songs when they see them rolling. I found that the Aborigines of New Holland were strictly divided into two classes, the hunters and the fishers. The above took place at Red Point.

### Charles Throsby Smith settles at Wollongong

(1823). Charles Throsby Smith, nephew of Doctor Charles Throsby, decides to settle at Wollongong around this time.

The following account is taken from his 1863 reminiscences (*Illawarra Mercury*, 3 October 1870):

... In those days men acted on the principle of tree selection before survey, and accordingly, in the year 1823, about 40 years since, I located myself hereabouts [Wollongong] with my wife, and with four Government men [convicts] commenced clearing the land, in defiance of the blacks, who at times were disposed to be very troublesome. I always, however, treated them with great kindness and we soon became friends.

... The country thus gradually settled was - as may be imagined even by persons who have seen it only in later years - very heavily timbered in the early days, with the trees intertwined with creeper, and underwood, so as to be almost impassable. Where my house now stands [on Smiths Hill, Wollongong] was densely timbered, and so was the site of Wollongong, except a portion towards Tom Thumb Lagoon, which is of a swampy nature, and partly clear. There were very few other places naturally clear except the headlands, and about the Macquarie River, at Johnstons and Terry's Meadows - in the vicinity of which there were large clumps of cabbage trees, that looked very picturesque.

The timber generally was of very good quality; and there was abundance of cedar and eucalyptus in the gullies. There were also blackbutt, ironbark, box, and stringybark, swamp and forest oak, and cabbage trees and the bangalow grew whenever the soil was rich. In former years there was a considerable trade in timber from the district - and there was great waste of timber with the early settlers, which, if now standing, would be valuable.

The Aborigines were never particularly hostile to the whites. The Wollongong tribe numbered about one hundred. They were very much finer looking than one would suppose by the few miserable specimens now left [in 1863], but in the early days they had abundance of fish, kangaroos, possums, ducks, and other wild fowl. On one occasion, I saw a blackfellow spear a kangaroo between the two large trees now standing in front of my house.

The Aborigines owned the authority of Chiefs, in a certain degree. 'Old Bundle' was the name given to the chief who claimed Wollongong as his particular domain - and no end of tribute have I paid to his Majesty, in the shape of tea, sugar, flour, meal, &c. Another Chief, called 'Old Timberry', ruled another portion of the tribe, but these chiefs and their adherents were by no means confined to particular localities. Timberry, however, claimed Berkley. They roamed through the district. At this time they were at war with the Kurnai and Shoalhaven blacks.

[The claims of Bundle and Timberry to ownership of their traditional lands at Wollongong and Berkley were never addressed. Refer also under 1863 to further reminiscences by C.T. Smith]

.....

1824

### A Tribal Gathering at Sydney

29 February 1824. On this day a gathering of tribes from the north, south, and west of Sydney - including representatives of the Five Islands tribe - gathered in the bush between Sydney and Botany Bay for a ceremony in which a number of Aboriginal men and women were publicly admonished and punished for the breaking of certain tribal laws. Some of the guilty party were also members of the Five Islands tribe. This was followed by a skirmish between the Kissing Point and

Five Islands native over an incident in which a Five Islands man was accused of strangling the Kissing Point native at the Paramatta orphan school over some clothing.

The following account of events that day was recorded by Jules Dement d'Uville, the French explorer, in 1820 (after Rosemann, 1938, pp 85-90). Within that account d'Uville noted the 1824 incident as a follow-on to a similar one which had been described by Captain Colling and which had occurred at Sydney during 1796.

... (Colling's) is an account of a similar execution that I myself saw during my stay in Port Jackson in 1824 and which was attended by some remarkable features.

On 28 February 1824, in the evening, with M. Utracka (a government employee) and Major Morley, I had gone to visit Bungari's camp on the peninsula on the north side of Sydney harbour. Several other tribes were meeting with him and he informed me that the next day a great gathering would take place near Sydney to punish several natives accused of various crimes. I promised him some brandy, that he was mad about, and he undertook to let me know the next morning of the ship on his way to the battleground.

So on the 29th, at 6 a.m., the two boats carrying Bungari's tribe and his allies passed close to the convicts; I honoured my promise and, followed by a few others from the ship, made my way to M. Utracka's house. We did a tour of the town, and some natives that we saw wandering in the streets informed us that the session would not take place until 10 o'clock. Bungari having again promised to let us know before his departure, we ate at M. Utracka's place.

We had scarcely finished before the chief, followed by his wife and one of his friends, came to tell us it was time to leave. In fact on the way out of town, we saw him at the head of all the warriors of his tribe moving out, leaping and prancing through the bush in all directions. It was a very strange and picturesque sight, rather resembling those books of little umps we sometimes see in our spares.

We followed them at a distance, and in this way arrived on high ground about two miles from the sea, from where the view takes in both the vast harbours of Port Jackson and Botany Bay.

The combatants had probably chosen this spot because it offered an immense area of flat land free of scrub. Several tribes were already camped in and around the bush. Bungari arrived on the battlefield, performing war dances and parading threateningly, as if to challenge their enemies and work themselves up for combat. Others following them did the same on their arrival.

At a general signal, all the tribes got up and went to the arena in groups of from fifteen to twenty men, all armed with spears, shields, clubs, and boomerangs. Already there were the people from Paramatta, Kissing Point, Sydney, Liverpool, Windsor, (Emu Plains, Broken Bay, Five Islands, Botany Bay and even from Hunter River etc. etc.). All were distinguished by the designs of their body paintings, black, red or white, but there were only five or six complete tribes, and others had merely semi-representatives who had gathered under allied chiefs.

Amongst these various crowds, the men from the Cowpastures were the most remarkable. They were rather short, but stocky, strong and superbly built. The painting on their bodies, resembling some kind of coats of mail, added even more to their martial attitude and to their bellicose stance.

To start with, six women were placed in a semicircle in the arena, each armed with a long stick for support and at the same time to ward off the blows they were going to receive, while two men were stood up a short distance away in the same line and only defended by the long narrow wooden shield they call a halberon.

From as much as we could understand of their language, they were accusing these various individuals of having caused the death of a man from the Windsor tribe, which was allied with the Liverpool tribe commanded by Goga, and all were to receive punishment for their crime. For the women it consisted of withstanding a certain number of blows from clubs wielded with some force,

and the men from powerfully throw spears. Oogal and his warriors were to mete out this vengeance.

Some natives made speeches, then the executions began. First one man approached the women to strike them, but they had only to present their sticks transversely and he merely hit them, however, at the fifth woman, instead of directing his blow at the stick, he bashed her right in the throat. The unfortunate woman immediately fell to the ground, but lost no time in getting up again to endure the rest of her punishment. The sixth one was treated like the first four. Several men and women who followed did the same, and I noticed that each of them set upon the one who had already been so knocked about, nevertheless only two assailants, a man and a woman, were still cruel enough to hit her with their clubs, one on the chest and the other on top of her head. At each blow she fell and immediately got up again suspending herself with her stick.

[According to the published account of R.P. Lasson (*Voyage autour du monde*, 1830, volume II, p.256), a shaman of d'Urville's at the time, this woman, who was singled out for special treatment

...was a sorceress, and a sorcerer according to the black Australians is said to have supernatural powers. This woman through her evil spells was believed to have caused the death by drowning of the tribe's best hunter. She was accused of yet another crime, a chief who fell out of a tree and was badly hurt had a dream in which the unfortunate woman was represented as having used her power to make him fall ...]

The men's turn having come, about fifteen savages stepped forward and baited their spears in turn, which the condemned men parried with amazing dexterity, and lucky for them, for, of these shafts, some dug into the earth about thirty feet beyond them and others penetrated an inch or two into the helmet. One man was gathering up the spears and sending them back to their owners. Often the natives being punished threw them back themselves, challenging their enemies and mocking them for their lack of skill.

While this was going on, they returned from time to time to the punishment of the women, and occasionally the savages made their boomerangs cut and whine all around them, anyway this instrument is more suited to frightening someone than actually causing harm. Finally, when the two men had endured what was almost a barrage of about sixty spears each, they were set free, as were the women, and no further notice was taken of them. Only the unfortunate woman that I dictated seemed overwhelmed by the blows she had received; she could hardly stand up and was dragged off into the bush by the women of her tribe. The reason for this excessive severity was another crime, separate from the one that was shared in common with her accomplices whom they had merely tormented and publicly humiliated.

The ceremony had begun at 10 o'clock, and the punishment of the culprits had lasted about half an hour. A few minutes later several warriers entered the arena and were followed in their turn by others, so that general fighting started with about twenty men against an equal number; moreover, the spears were thrown from each side with admirable order and precision, and the fight resembled either an organized tournament than a confused free-for-all.

The savages fought with laudable seriousness, coolness and courage; all the thrusts were avoided and parried without flinching, while the women ran through the ranks to stir up the men. I watched one of them, she was stark naked and the grace and beauty of her figure made a perfect whole. She approached one warrior who bowed his head before her while she hit him twice with a club in a deliberate and dignified manner, she returned two or three times to the fray, then she disappeared from the gathering and I could not be sure if her face matched the beauty of her form.

While the spears were flying in almost equal numbers from all sides, I noticed a young man from the Five Islands against whom all the attacks from the opposing side seemed to be concentrated, and who seemed to be deprived of the right of retaliation, for he appeared to strike but only two or three times. Bidi-Bidi, the chief from Rassing Point, seemed particularly set against him and urged his warriers to vengeance. As the two parties changed position continually, and in

consequence the spear their direction, to avoid being hit the spectators had to move pretty smartly, and nobody waited to be asked to shift. The force with which the spears penetrated the shields showed us what would have happened if we took the risk of being hit. Furthermore, the combatants took not the slightest notice of the Europeans surrounding them, only the chiefs of the tribes who were not involved in the fighting took the trouble to warn us and to get us to keep a wary eye.

For about fifteen to twenty minutes the fight went on without any remarkable incident. I decided to take myself round the battlefield and visit the few groups of women and children in the surrounding bush. For some time I examined their unattractive faces, their flat noses, their beautiful teeth, their eyelashes, their bodies, occasionally graceful in the young girls, always ugly in the women who had nursed children, their lively active children and their numerous dogs.

On one side, in the bush I came upon one of those robust savages, whose vigorous physique had already surprised me. At first he gave me only short and evasive answers to my repeated questions, he was quite uninterested in my company, and I was just about to take my leave of him, saying that he was quite uncommunicative, when all of a sudden, as if remembering something, he had the bright idea of asking me for money to buy bread. A shilling which I gave him produced a marvelous effect, his face brightened up, he became expansive, treating me with respect and answering properly and intelligently the questions I put to him in English.

So I learned he was called Douel, and that he was chief of the boisterous Mericon tribe that lives on the Covapastures plains, he commanded sixteen warhorses, all as strong as he was. The plains in his district, which are far more fertile than Sydney, abound in kangaroos and possums. His tribe does not eat human flesh, but the mountain tribes have no scruples about it. Finally, he was quite uninterested in the present combat and remained merely a spectator.

The approach of some Englishmen put an end to our conversation and I continued my tour. I wanted to see what was the condition of the unfortunate woman who had been so badly knocked about, but I was unable to locate her, she had probably been taken well away from the battlefield. I was looking for any place she might have found shelter, when shrill cries and continuous groans suddenly arose from the centre of a group not far from me. At the same time a confused noise, a general babble and loud cries came from the middle of the arena. I thought for a moment that all the conversations were going to be broken and that the fight was becoming serious, since I knew this sometimes happened.

Already most of the spectators were getting ready to beat a prudent retreat, and I too was looking around in the bush for the spot through which I was going to duck out. But calm was soon restored, and I watched a badly wounded man being led away from the battlefield while the spears continued to fly from all directions. I saw then that only the relatives of the injured man went on making pitiful wailing noises while the others remained silent.

I came near and saw that turning aside to avoid a shaft had caused him to be struck in the lumbar region where the spear had penetrated quite deeply. One of his friends was supporting him in his arms, the spear had been withdrawn and the blood had been sucked from the wound, after which it had been bandaged. The poor fellow, however, although pale and weak from loss of blood, made no sound and even attempted to walk by leaning on his spear.

I then learned that this young man who had more regular and attractive features than most of his compatriots and was a native of the Five Islands as were the other guilty persons, was accused by big-bellied of having strangled his nephew at the Pemamato school to get possession of his clothes.

What is odd is that while there was, if it is true, a strong presumption of his guilt, the most convincing alleged proof for condemning him rested on a dream of one of the chiefs. That was why he had been sentenced to receive so many spear thrusts without the right to return them; those who fought alongside him, all his friends and relatives, did it as a point of honour or out of self-esteem rather than from any very strong urge for vengeance. In fact, as soon as he was wounded, the fight was much less willing, lasting scarcely eight to ten minutes longer, and was without any further

incident. Probably it was enough for the aggrieved tribe to have split the blood of the guilty person, whose allies were not keen to pursue the matter any further. A few natives made speeches again, women walked and fresh warriors made threatening gestures with spears and boomerangs, but it all quickly subsided, at 11.45 everybody returned through the bush to his own side.

... Everything was nearly back to its normal calm and we were returning back to Sydney... Burgen, Badig-Baga and Cogal assured us, however, that that evening there would be a man-corroboree, that is, a general dance of all the assembled tribes, and I was getting ready to enjoy this spectacle, for me more interesting than all the balls of Europe, but this day and the ones following we had foul weather and these savages, bored with walking around and not keen to dance in bad weather, disbanded and made their way back to their homes, leaving as usual, Burgen's and the Sydney tribe the sole inhabitants of these parts. ...

#### Massacre at Emu Plains

12 August 1824: (Sydney Gazette) Report of a trial of 5 whitemen for the manslaughter of three Aboriginal women at Emu Plains. All the Europeans were subsequently acquitted.

The newspaper contains a detailed account of the trial and the legal arguments presented

#### Abuses at Lake George

7 September 1824: Charles Throsby writes a letter to the Colonial Secretary on the state of relations with the Aborigines, also relating the tale of two native women kidnapped and raped by Captain Richard Brooks' stockmen in the neighbourhood of Lake George. The stockmen subsequently refused to give the women up. (Throsby Papers, AONSW, C Liston, 1988)

1825

#### Illawarra Aborigines

6 January 1825: 'Information Regarding the Aborigines of NSW - The Five Island Tribes' collected by a London Missionary Society delegation in Sydney (Tyerman and Bonner, 1840, Threlkeld, 1974, volume 2, pp 340-1):

#### Five Islands (6 January 1825)

One of the deputy-surveyors here [Sydney] informs us that the natives are, comparatively, numerous in the vicinity of the Five Islands, and, being less disengaged by intercourse with the worst class of white men than in some other parts of the colony, they have preserved more of their primitive character and manners.

They come from the interior, to the above mentioned quarter of the coast, to obtain fish, oysters, water-owl, grubs, &c. He speaks on the whole, favourably of them, except in respect of the hard usage of their wives, whom they compel to fish for them, and, when they are unsuccessful, cruelly beat them. They have not many children, but there is no reason to suspect that they destroy any of

them, either from indolence or hard-heartedness. Indeed, they appear fond of their offspring with the instinctive attachment of all animals to their young, whether human or brute, in a wild state.

They bury their dead in the ground, marking the place (and, probably, their name and the time of their decease) by certain hieroglyphics on the bark of the neighbouring trees, besides which, in honour of distinguished persons, they cut the rude figure of a man, with his legs stretched out, on each side of the grave.

They have a notion of the rights of equal property, the lands which particular families occupy being marked out and bequeathed from the father to his children. Like all savages, whose subsistence is precarious, they can go long without food, frequently fasting for several days together, but, when they have abundance, gorge enormously. They rarely think of the future, so as to provide for its necessities, yet in one instance they show singular sagacity even of this kind. They get the limb of a large tree, the thickness of a man's thigh, and plant it in the water. Presently a kind of grub comes into the stalk, where it thrives and multiplies so rapidly that, in no long time, the wood becomes like a honey-comb, full of cells, containing these delicacies. The natives then take it out of the water, cleave it in pieces, and riot on its animal contents.

They throw the spear with amazing precision and force, often killing wild-ducks, herons, and other birds on the wing.

They generally broil their fish or flesh slightly, by laying it upon the fire before they eat it, and (which is very remarkable) reject any food that is tainted. Their smell in detecting this is exquisitely acute. The same may be said of their sight and hearing, from the acuteness and keenness with which they have occasion to exercise these senses.

A short time since some property had been stolen from a house in the country: certain natives were employed to discover the thief, when, though the latter had taken a very circuitous route of the forest to secure their escape, the pursuers followed the gang of bush-ringers (for such they proved) to the very place where they had deposited their booty, though the white constables, who joined in the chase, could not perceive the traces or the footstep or passage on the grass or through the underwood.

When they discover a kangaroo feeding, one, expert at the practice, steals upon it by slow marches. The animal generally sits upon its haunches, but, when it feeds, stoops down with the head and short fore-legs to clip the grass. While in that position, the black man creeps gently towards the spot, and the moment the kangaroo raises its eye from the ground, he stands stock still. Appearing, probably, to the creature like a dark-coloured stamp of a tree, of which there are many in the woods, it continues to feed, without fear - he always moving a few steps while it is looking down, and becoming motionless as soon as it looks up. He thus gradually approaches, and at length comes within the cast of a spear from his victim. Its fate is then almost inevitable.

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1826

#### Establishment of Hawera Military Garrison

6 July 1826 [Sydney Gazette] Report on the establishment of a Military Garrison at Hawera to keep the peace and

[to] increase the value of Colonial possessions, but also tend to the preservation of good order, and render that part somewhat more peaceable than it has been since gangs of savages have been in the habit of frequenting those regions, and disseminating drunkenness, and every other misery far and wide - even adding to the contamination of the degraded aborigine.

[Though initially set up to protect the natives and white settlers, later writers have mis-interpreted the reasons for sending soldiers to New Zealand, erroneously stating that they were despatched to protect settlers from 'hostile natives']

### The Journal of Mr Harper

7 October - 8 November 1828. John Harper, a Wesleyan missionary, visits Aborigines at Bowentown Island, Jervis Bay, and Batemans Bay, with the aim of setting up a mission in the area. He recorded the encounter in his journal (Mitchell Library - Bowentown Transcripts, Box 58, C/1529, pp 1665-1670)

#### Mr Harper's Journal

1028 Oct 7th Jervis Bay. A heavy gale of wind arose from the southward which continued all day. At sunset the wind abated, I then went on shore at Bowentown's Isle to see some of the blacks who were employed in fishing, and found that their language had very little affinity to that with which I am acquainted. I distributed a few fish hooks among them, and went with them into a cove at the side of a great rock which was situated by the sea side. Here I took an opportunity of speaking to them on the doctrine of a future state they believe in the doctrine, but their ideas are very superstitious. I found they were very superstitious in taking off the scales from a fish. They believe that if the scales are taken off before the fish is laid on the fire, that, water "jump up", or, the waves of the sea will arise, and so, will be prevented from catching any more fish that day."

These natives appear to be a very religious and contaminated race, and they are never satisfied give them whatever you will. This is owing to the [cruel] conduct of the whites

Oct 8th. In the forenoon I performed Divine Service, after which I went on shore to speak with some of the Natives who were upon the Main Land. I distributed a few biscuits among them, in order to keep them together. They were exceedingly dirty and filthy, and as much contaminated as those upon Bowentown's Isle. The number that was present, was fifty six, including women and children.

Oct 9th. I took an excursion with a few blacks to a limited distance, but was not able to return again before night, on account of having to travel through a thick scrub. When I returned I found that I was not able to get off to the Vessel, on account of the wind being too high. I therefore took up my night's lodging in the open air along with the blacks. The number of blacks present when I returned was ninety six. After amusing them with some phrases used by the Wellington tribes, and endeavours to make out what I could, of their language, I lay down to rest, and slept as sound and as comfortable as I should upon a bed of down. I found those blacks were acquainted with a particular song which I learned from the blacks of Wellington the interpretation of which no black would ever inform me.

Imma imma nyo, nooty wumum nyo  
Ganyar bryar  
Gammalarnee dawn gumer chyu. (Dances Imma & -.)

These blacks roam without a fixed habitation, and only find a temporary shelter under the branches of a tree, the hollow of a rock, or under two or three sheets of bark, tied in a reclining position against each other. They are very idle and but very seldom employed, except in fishing and hunting the Kangaroo and Opossum. Their weapons are spears and clubs. They are very destructive marksmen, and will hit a bird flying or a gunna on a tree, or any other small object, at an amazing distance.

Polygamy is common among the natives here, and marriage is performed in the same well known way. But who, except an untaught savage would be guilty of such an unmanly act as to raise his hand against a woman.

In the morning when I arose, I took a walk alone on the sandy beach to muse upon the condition of these poor creatures. The following reflections occupied my mind - Does not the Being, thought I, who planned, willed, and brought to perfection, the various objects around me, in this obscure place, notice these poor creatures made after his own image, and may I not hope that he will here long be glorified, in the conversion, and salvation of some of these younger noble brethren. Sure am I that the refinement of civilization will never bring them to the knowledge of God, for the Greeks and Romans declined just in proportion as they advanced in the knowledge of the arts, and these nations of antiquity, while they were more licentious in their conduct than the rest of the heathen world around them, were like these degraded sons of Ham, in without God, and without hope in the world.

Oct. 14th. We arrived at Bateman Bay, it is forty miles from Jarvis Bay. A black ran along the beach, setting fire to the grass at about every two hundred yards in order to hale us by the sight of the smoke.

Oct. 15th. The black who ran along the beach the preceding night, came on board; I give him a blanket and some biscuits and despatched him to fetch some more blacks, then I was obliged to do by making signs, as he could not talk one word of English. Neither did he understand the Wellington language.

Oct. 16th. A number of blacks hailed us from the north side of the Bay, I immediately sent the boat to fetch some of them off to the Vessel. Five of them came but they knew not one word of English. I took this deficiency as a very good omen, and immediately went on shore to see the rest of them. They appear to be much cleaner than any other blacks I have yet seen in the Colony. One man particularly attracted my notice for his monstrous size, and another old man for the scarring authority he had over the rest. I was much surprised to find that the latter acted as King or chief among them a circumstance I never knew among the blacks at Wellington. Ships are not in the habit of putting in here, the consequence is the blacks are uncontaminated. I distributed a few presents among them for which they showed every token of satisfaction and contentment. If I meet with a good prospect of usefulness here, I shall confine myself to this tribe and proceed no further.

Oct. 17th. I took an excursion with the blacks, whom I saw, and conversed with (in the best manner I could) the day before. As we had to pass through a thick scrub, the blacks went before me, and took down the sticks and (&c) that were in my way. They seemed to be highly amused at every trifling thing which I did. No man of pure innocence need be afraid of travelling with the blacks, even in the most obscure place. After this assertion is not credited in the Colony by some people, yet I know both experience more than thousands who would object to it. For my part I never was afraid of meeting blacks who had never seen a white man before neither will I ever be. Let the whites reform their conduct and they need never be afraid.

Oct. 18th. I told the Master of the Vessel to proceed to Twofold Bay as soon as possible.

Oct. 20th. We weighed anchor, and were leaving the Bay, when I found myself very much dissatisfied for leaving this place so suddenly, but my reason for leaving was, because I could not meet with a sufficient number of natives to confine my labours to. This was my only objection to this place. But while musing with myself whether I should stay a day or two longer, the wind set in from the Southward, so that we were under the necessity of staying.

At this moment we were unexpectedly hailed from the South side of the Bay by a great number of blacks, I immediately got the Vessel moored, and went on shore to see the blacks, and took with me a few presents to make them. One of these blacks had been over to the new country (the most southern part of the Colony), and could speak English sufficiently to interpret what I had to say to the rest of his countrymen. I gave him a blanket and some biscuits and fat-hocks among the rest of them. I then took the black on board and got a number of blankets, fat-hocks, and biscuits, all of which I got the black to carry to a place about two miles off, where he told me there were numbers of blacks.

On my first approach to the new tribe, they all, both men, women, and children, lifted up their hands - a custom which denotes peace.

I stood for some time ruminating upon the objects before me, considering whether I should do right to confine myself to this tribe, should I meet with anything promising, as my instructions were for Twofold Bay. I then began to converse with them through my interpreter, telling them the object of my visit, and the kindness of the good people in Sydney, in sending me to them. I then distributed my little presents among them, with which all they were highly pleased. I knew several of the words which they spoke, but I knew not whether they bore the same signification. The women made me several presents, which consisted of kangaroo teeth, shells, and red oore. The kangaroo teeth are fastened to a string, made from the hair of the Opossum, with gum which answers the purpose of wax or glue. They were completely in a state of nudity. This was done out of good humour, but I must own that I was very much disgusted with the smell of them. After the women had left the men and began to converse with them through my interpreter upon various subjects, after which I wrote down the following observations:-

1st. They are the cleanest blacks that I have yet seen in the Colony: they have no collarettes upon them.

2ndly. They are very kind to their women and children, the blankets, which I gave to the men they gave to their wives and children. On my first approach to this new tribe, I was not a little surprised to see an aged man and woman, walking arm in arm, towards me. At the same time the man was pointing his finger at me, their hair was nearly white. They were a very venerable pair.

3rdly. The men appear to be of the middle size: some of them, however, are rather tall: most of them appear to be very athletic. The women are rather short, but, I believe this generally arises from carrying immense burdens. Both men and women are remarkable for their dectility; I do not think they are very attractive.

4thly. They are not contaminated by the whites.

5thly. My interpreter tells me they are on good terms with the rest of the surrounding tribes.

6thly. They do not appear to be so vagrant as the tribes at Jervis Bay, Shoals Haven, but it is impossible that they should be free from it, otherwise, they could not get a subsistence. Their principal manner of living is in catching fish, and in the animals, (seals) and in procuring the truffles that grow wild in the woods on which they chiefly subsist. They generally repose at about a half a mile from the sea coast. They have temporary huts, ornamented with a tuft of grass fastened to a stick, and projecting from the front part of the top.

The number of blacks present is 67 men, 36 women, 23 children, making in all 126, besides others who are not far distant, as may be seen by the smoke ascending in various places. The land is pretty tolerable in some parts and thickly covered with timber, tho' in some parts it is very mountainous.

There are some very good red ochre here, which is quite burnable.

Oct. 22nd. I have made up my mind to proceed no farther to the Southward, for the following reasons, viz:-

1. I have every reason to believe, that, I should not meet with natives so mild pacific, and uncontaminated as these.

2nd. I have learned from good authority that the blacks at Twofold Bay are already contaminated, and are made so by the whites who go them in Vessels, and illtreat them.

3rdly. These natives are rather numerous and more localised than any others I have yet known.

4thly. This place is very seldom frequented by Vessels, on account of its being open to the sea.

5thly. The land will answer the purposes of the Mission.

6thly. It will save me from incurring further expense.

Oct. 23d. I took an excursion with a few blacks to the south side of the Bay. We had not gone far, before we met a black, who, on his first sight of me, began to show a number of tricks, by dancing, jumping, swinging himself round, and beating himself with a stick, then running backwards, and forwards. At last he stood still and began gazing at the sky, with his head quite back, at the same time reverting his stick in all directions. I really thought the man was mad, and more particularly as he had a very ordinary countenance. This man looked very steadily at me, and viewed me till he was almost tired. I went up to him and asked him to shake hands, he then opened me the upper part of the arm. This black was very friendly to me afterwards and brought me a large fish.

Oct. 25th. I have been walking alone in the woods, inspecting the land, and have been rather fortunate in discovering a site, that will just answer the purposes of our Mission. I have taken a draught of the place, which will help to throw some light upon it.

A geographical way for taking the Land, is - It would be best to take the north Head of Bateman Bay, for our Southern boundary, and to take the land two miles from South to North - that is along the coast in continuation to the seaward - and, ten miles 400 acres from East to West, that is from the coast, back into the interior. The North Head of Bateman lies in about 28 + 40 South latitude. The land is very good, tho' in most parts thickly covered with useful timber. It is also well watered.

Oct. 27th I have taken my leave of the blacks, they will anxiously expect my return.

Oct. 28th. We left Bateman Bay. When we were sailing out, the blacks waved their hands, as much as to say "Good-bye".

From Oct. 30, to Nov. the 6th, I have occasionally conversed with the blacks at Jarvis Bay, and travelled the bush.

Nov. 10th. I arrived in Sydney.

Thus, I have given you the particulars of my journal, allow me to make a few general observations upon what has been stated - and,

1st. It must be acknowledged that, altho' these tribes are unchristianized by the whites, yet, they are degraded as to Divine things, almost on a level with the brute. I could not find, when speaking to my interpreter that they had any knowledge of a Supreme Being whatever! And in nothing, surely, does the blinding and paralyzing influence of a vitiated heart, more strikingly appear, than in this failure among the Aborigines, of the knowledge of God. They are in a state of moral unfitness for heaven and its blessed and holy society - they are dying by hundreds and by thousands, and passing into eternally the unregenerate subjects of all their original and contracted pollutions, as completely unfit for heaven, and as incapable of enjoying its society and its pleasures, as darkness is incapable of dwelling with light. While the Aborigines therefore perish, "it is without law".

2ndly. We have at Bateman Bay a wide field of usefulness, as other tribes are contiguously situated, viz., The Pigeon house tribe, the Tawmbee tribe, the Barmouth creek tribe; besides those tribes which may be contiguously situated in the interior about the new Country.

3rdly. To my mind it is most encouraging to know that the Gospel is new, as it has always been, under the special providence of God. If we had the means of sending it to every tribe in New Holland, and of sending a distinct Missionary to each tribe, we might justly conclude that He, who supplied us with the means, would not withhold the influence by which alone they can accomplish their end.

John Harper.

**The French Meeting with  
the Aborigines at Jervis Bay**

28-29 November 1826

Between 28-29 November, 1826 a group of French sailors, soldiers, naturalists and artists - all members of the expedition under the command of Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville (1790-1842), aboard the corvette *Astrolabe* - put into Jervis Bay, on the south coast of New South Wales. This was the third port of call in Australia for the *Astrolabe* (after visiting King George Sound, Western Australia, early in October, and Western Port, Victoria, during early November) en route to Port Jackson, where the vessel arrived on 2 December 1826.

The stop-over at Jervis Bay, though relatively brief, was important for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Bay was accurately surveyed by the French; secondly, the visit was characterised by a very amicable encounter with the local Aborigines; and thirdly, an account of the visit was contained in Dumont d'Urville's journal (published in 1830), and in sketches taken by the artist on board the *Astrolabe*, namely Louis Auguste de Salignac (1801-1887).

The visit also allowed the expedition to study a group of Aborigines relatively uncontaminated by the European society then spreading out from Port Jackson, though not unaware of the ways and language of the white man.

**Dumont D'Urville's Journal**

The following extracts from the published account of the voyage of the *Astrolabe*, by J.C. Dumont d'Urville, describe the Aborigines of Jervis Bay as observed during November 1826. The transcription is taken from H. Rossmann (Melbourne, 1968, pp. 66-67), and begins with an account of the arrival of the *Astrolabe* at Jervis Bay:

[26 November] ... At 8 o'clock I dropped the starboard anchor in nine fathoms, the sand and shells, three cables from the beach. The shore, slightly undulating and everywhere covered with beautiful trees, offered a most pictorial prospect.

The smoke from several fires also indicated the presence of natives. It was no time before we saw five of them appear opposite the corvette, carrying some fish; they seemed to be waiting for us to come ashore.

M. Jacquinot and Lotin went immediately ashore to observe their angles, and establish communication with these natives. Some of them uttered a few English words, all gave evidence of being amicably disposed. One of them slept on board.

[27 November] ... I made another excursion into the woods with Semonas. Again I admired the beauty of the eucalyptus and killed several birds, but the plants and insects hardly came up to the expectations raised by the first sight of these beautiful places. I would say that the scarcity of both must be due in great part to the frequent burning off carried out by the natives, which each year must kill off many species of plants and insects.

Our relations with the natives here continue friendly. However, we have only seen some of the men of this tribe, seven in number, and two children eight to ten years old; the women have remained out of sight. These Australians obviously belong to the same type as the Port Jackson natives, but

they are better looking, stronger and, in particular, better proportioned, due probably to a greater abundance of food. Several of them have a netto of scars on their backs, the cartilage of the nose pierced and their hair parted into strands decorated with kangaroo teeth or paws.

[28 November] ... At this mooring there is a plentiful supply of fish; a single cast of the net brought in a huge catch; also the natives, fascinated by such a novel spectacle for them, indulged in extravagant exhibitions of delight. And especially when they saw that the sailors were leaving for them so many of the coarse species, like small sharks and trigger fish, their joyful shouts were so loud that hearing them on board, I was afraid that some unfortunate incident had occurred....

Before concluding my remarks on Jarvis Bay, I must mention two native huts built near our observatory. In form they were like an oblong building about six or seven feet high, built of wide strips of eucalyptus bark, set upright and brought together at the top, covered with grass and marine plants. Clean and spacious inside, each of them could easily house a family of eight to ten individuals, and evidence a degree of intelligence on the part of these savages superior to any I had so far encountered.

We have seen the drawings of cutters and launches that they have made on the sandstone rocks on the coast, and they are quite well done. M. Lotte, who left behind a walnut wood rule, found it again the next day decorated with similar drawings.

In their dealings with us, they have, without fail, consistently displayed honesty, gentleness and even a circumspection quite remarkable for this class of person. Not one of them has attempted the slightest larceny, and it gives me pleasure to do justice to their impeccable conduct.

[The *Astrolobe* sailed from Jarvis Bay at 8 a.m. on the morning of 29 November, and arrived at Port Jackson three days later, on 2 December]

#### Monsieur Quoy's Report

The expedition's doctor and naturalist, Jean René Constant Quoy, recorded the following brief notes on the Jarvis Bay natives (Rosserman, 1983, p.74).

... At the place where we moored, there was a native dwelling. From their appearance, their bold and their development, it was obvious the natives were affected by the proximity of the English. One of them even spoke enough of that language well enough to make himself understood. The superior construction of their hut and a canoe for fishing proclaimed a more advanced level of civilization and a more certain and abundant food supply to which their physique manifestly bore witness, particularly when we compared them with the inhabitants of King George Sound.

[In comparing the Jarvis Bay natives with those of King George Sound, Quoy had stated (Rosserman, p.74):

Several inhabitants of Jarvis Bay, near Port Jackson, who have frequent contact with the English colonists, have shown physical improvement, whereas the tribes of King George Sound, whose only shelter in a severe winter are miserable kennels open to every wind; and who have for clothing only a thin kangaroo skin covering their shoulders, and for food only boards and scraggy roots, can do no more than lead an aimless life on a soil that denies them everything.

### Louis Auguste de Sainson's Sketches

A number of de Sainson's sketches from the Jarvis Bay area depicting the landscape and local inhabitants were subsequently reproduced as lithographs and published during the 1830s within the French and German accounts of the voyage.

The following is a brief description of the relevant lithographs and original works depicting Jarvis Bay's Aboriginal inhabitants and related artefacts. They are based on the sketches by de Sainson and bear the original French and German titles.

#### 1. Nouvelle Hollande Natais de la Port du Roi George et de Baie-Jarvis [New Holland Aborigines from King George's Sound and Jarvis Bay]

Lithograph 25.5 x 19cm

Part of Plate 12, *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe, Histoire, Atlas I*, Paris, 1833. This plate portrays a group of three King George Sound natives on the left half of the picture, whilst those from Jarvis Bay are to the right. The Western Australian natives are clothed in animal skins, whilst 2 from Jarvis Bay are variously naked or in European apparel, such as old jackets. The latter are also holding fish.

#### 2 Cabanes de la baie Jarvis (6 pieds de haut) [Native Huts of Jarvis Bay (6 people per hut)]

Lithograph 25.5 x 19cm

Part of Plate 18, *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe, Histoire, Atlas I*, Paris, 1833. (This plate contains companion views of four native huts - two from New Holland (King George Sound and Jarvis Bay) and two from New Zealand, with the Jarvis Bay hut to the top right)

#### 3 [The Astrolabe moored in Jarvis Bay]

Lithograph 25.5 x 19cm

Plate 26, *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe, Histoire, Atlas I*, Paris, 1833. A view of the Astrolabe moored in Jarvis Bay, with a group of local Aborigines on the beach in the left foreground, and the French scientific observatory upon the cliff to the right.

#### 4 Bate Jarvis, Nouvelle Holland (Les marins de l'Astrolabe partagent leur poche avec les Natais) [Jarvis Bay, New Holland. The sailors of the Astrolabe sharing their catch of fish with the Aborigines]

Lithograph 19.4 x 29.3cm

Plate 34, *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe, Histoire, Atlas I*, Paris, 1833. See below for description.

#### 5 [Native Weapons and Artefacts of New Holland and New Zealand]

Lithograph 25.5 x 19cm

Plate 36, *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe, Histoire, Atlas I*, Paris, 1833. Includes drawings of Aboriginal artefacts from Jarvis Bay.

#### 6 Die Matrosen des Astrolabe theilen ihren Fischfang mit den Einheimischen [Members of the crew of the Astrolabe sharing their fish with the natives]

Lithograph 25 x 35.5cm

Plate 8, from the German edition of *The Voyage of the Astrolabe*, which was published by Schaffhausen in 1838. This impression appears to be taken from the same plate as the French lithograph of 1833 (see no 4 above).

## 8. Natives of King George Sound, and of Jarvis Bay

Lithograph 26 x 36.5cm

Plate 5, from the German edition of *The Voyage of the Astrolabe* ... which was published by Schaffhausen in 1836. Portrays a group of Jarvis Bay natives with fish in hand.9. Pirogue de la Baie Jarvis, Nouvelle Holland par Pans  
[View of Jarvis Bay, New Holland]Colour sketch 26 x 36cm Ref: S.G. fol.4, no.22  
Societe de Geographie, Paris.

De Balmont's view (No.4 above) of the coastal meeting between the Jarvis Bay Aborigines ("les Natives") and the sailors ("les marins") of the *Astrolabe* is well known, and often reproduced. As Geoffrey Dutton noted of this work in his survey of the portrayal of Australian Aborigines in art, it is

...almost the only portrayal that exists of white men and Aborigines joining together in a celebration and dance. It is a most joyful painting, showing a group of sailors and Aborigines bringing ashore a large catch of fish and sharks at Jarvis Bay in New South Wales, while in the foreground a sailor does a hornpipe in front of some Aborigines doing a dance of joy (Dutton, 1974, p.31)

The view specifically shows three of the *Astrolabe* crew unloading a catch of fish from a small boat onto a beach upon which is gathered a group of about 16 Frenchmen and 8 Aborigines. In the top left of the view a man (Pte Balmont) can be seen sketching the scene before him, whilst in the foreground one of the sailors shares a dance with some natives. The central and right foreground display natives pulling in the fishing net, sorting the fish, and even eating some raw specimens.

Dr Urville had recorded the following in his journal regarding the incident:

At the mooring [Jarvis Bay] there is a plentiful supply of fish, a single cast of the net brought in a huge catch, also the natives, fascinated by such a novel spectacle for them, indulged in extravagant exhibitions of delight. And especially when they saw that the sailors were leaving for them so many of the coarser species, like small sharks and trigger fish, their joyful shouts were so loud that hearing them on board, I was afraid that some unfortunate incident had occurred. (Dr Urville, 1836)

Such instances of conviviality between whites and blacks were rare if any locality in Australia during colonial times, and even more rarely expressed pictorially. Lieutenant Grant had encountered similar behaviour amongst the Jarvis Bay Aborigines when he visited there in March 1801.

Another distinguishing feature of this lithograph is the complete lack of clothing displayed by the Jarvis Bay Aborigines - it was usual for an artist or lithographer of the time to partially cover naked bodies in the name of decorum, even though reality was otherwise. However in this print the natives are portrayed as they were - naked apart from some instances of small girdles wrapped around their abdomens and the wearing of European jackets. It is known from other sources that the Jarvis Bay Aborigines were usually so scantily clad, but they also employed possum rugs for warmth during winter and at night. As the encounter with the French occurred during the southern summer, there is no doubt that the natives were attired as portrayed in the lithograph.

In a similar lithograph depicting a meeting between the crew of the *Astrolabe* and the natives of King George Sound (based on a drawing taken just over a month previous) those natives are portrayed wearing skin rugs which are strategically (and awkwardly) placed over their private parts. In the finished lithograph, The Jarvis Bay print, for an unknown reason displays no such prudery. The Aborigines in the King George Sound view are also portrayed as small, cowering, and

animal-like, with almost inhuman-like facial features; whereas in the Jervis Bay view the native figures are more true to life, and human - standing tall, dancing, eating and talking, laughing, and one even aggressively brandishing a spear to the viewer (thus despite Governor Macquarie's order of 1816 that Aborigines were not to carry spears or other 'offensive weapons' when in close proximity to Europeans, and were not to gather in groups of more than six).

The two French lithographs portray differences not only between the Western Australian and Jervis Bay Aborigines - with the former portrayed as crude and timid savages, the latter as strong and bold Australians - but changes in the attitude of the French artist *de Sanson*, who had perhaps become more sympathetic to the native Australians by the time he reached Jervis Bay, and realised they were not as primitive and animal-like as portrayed in the Western Australian view. We should also remember that just as it took European artists many years to accurately draw unfamiliar Australian animals such as the kangaroo, koala, and platypus, so also *de Sanson* experienced difficulties in correctly portraying the features of the Australian Aborigines. Like many other artists of the time, he gives the Aborigines Europeanized facial features.

It appears that the numerous French explorers who visited Australia prior to 1820 (e.g. La Perouse, Baudin, Freycinet) generally had better relations with the Aborigines than the British settlers - perhaps this is explained by the fact that their encounters were usually brief and connected with scientific expeditions.

The French crew and scientists were intrigued by the natives, offering them trinkets and baubles in return for information and artefacts, and the French king himself had issued instructions that conflict was to be avoided at all costs. The British on the other hand were daily living with the Aborigines, and though relations were superficially civilized, numerous conflicts arose with bloodshed on both sides resulting in the widespread decimation of the native people. Even the relatively isolated Jervis Bay Aborigines knew the effect of the British market by the time the French visited them in November 1820. They were some of the last to be aware of it, for Jervis Bay had provided a safe haven to whaling vessels since even before the arrival of the first fleet in 1788.

During the 1820s the Jervis Bay Aborigines were identified amongst the white population as some of the fiercest Aborigines in the Colony. They had been hardened by their numerous encounters with whites which had resulted in the killing of their people. Yet *de Sanson's* lithograph suggests otherwise.

We may well ask - why were the French able to achieve an embassy and ease with the Jervis Bay Aborigines so quickly when the British had been in conflict with them for over thirty years? Apart from the aforementioned reasons, the answer may also lie in an incident which had occurred at Shark Bay, Western Australia, during September 1818. Jacques Arago - artist aboard the French vessel *Uranie* then under the command of Louis *de Freycinet* - and some of the ship's officers and crew were confronted by a group of angry Aborigines, shaking their spears and looking very dangerous. Suddenly Pelion, one of the ship's officers, had the idea of dancing, and he and the rest of the men began dancing in a circle, with Arago playing the castanets to accompany. Suddenly the Aborigines began laughing at the gaiety of the Frenchmen and joined in the festivities, thus averting what would undoubtedly have been a bloody clash.

The officers and crew of the *Astrolabe* would have been aware of this method of breaking the ice with indigenous natives, and perhaps copied Pelion when they initially encountered the Aborigines of Jervis Bay, using the gift of fish and a song and dance to show their friendly intentions.

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#### Monsieur Galimard's Vocabulary of the Jervis Bay Aborigines

An important record of the French visit to Jervis Bay in 1820 is the brief vocabulary of the local language collected by the ship's surgeon and naturalist, Joseph Paul Galimard, and published in

the volume on Philology published in 1824. It is reproduced as follows, with the addition of approximate English translations, where known:

French	Aborigine	English
Adine	Melkoura	-
Alo	Krah	Wing
Abris	Kourudo	Tree
Ascidie	Ghieur	-
Arché (coquille)	Boarla	- (shell)
Aquarium	Melam	Toddy
Aveugle	Kouenn ha	Blind
Berbe	Walq	Beard
Betire	Iourougnor	To boil
Bœu	Pitahn	Beautiful
Bœuf d'asieau	Noukoro	Bird's beak
Blanc	Pann	White
Bléssure	Karanna	Wound, hurt
Bleu	Tolla	Blue
Bon	Kurna	Good
Bouche	Kurna	Mouth
Bras	Tchak	Arm
Bulle (coquille)	Tohall	Bubble (shell)
Bon à mangier	Bedjew?	Good to eat
Cabane	Mango	Hut
Carre	Barourga, ill	Square
Casque (coquille)	Koungourou	Helmet (shell)
Cassican	Tarcina	-
Catoumina	Bala	Catoumina
Chantier	Iarica	To sing
Chevru	Tzar	Hair
Chien	Tibler	Dog
Chien	Joune	-
Clavoue	Kogga	Collar bone
Col	Adoli, kaka	To follow
Collier	Kouroun	Necklace
Conc (coquille)	Koungouwo un	Conc (shell)
Cotecelao	Kolostaga	-
Oeu	Kouzima	Neck
Coude	Moura	Elbow
Couer	Tawere	To run
Cracher	Naugh	To spit
Crepule (coquille)	Pitouka	- (shell)
Cri	Kame	Cry
Cuisse	Tara	Thigh
Cul	Bale	Bottom
Concer	Kabre	To dance
Demain	Mogoro? boula?	Tomorrow
Dent	Ina	Tooth
Denre (coquille)	Tanyitana	Toothed (fish)
Dosbie	Karan	Devil
Dieu	Iendere?	God
Dogr	Mariamel	Finger
Dormir	Kouyong	To sleep
Dos	Pwala	Back

Declarer	Tchelléwéane	Pain, sonore
Eau	Alchoum	Water
Enfant	Gosilouga	Child
Ennemi	Toumari	Enemy, hostile
Epaulé	Kauka	Shoulder
Erenyéar	Tchotchotchotchot	Sparrow-hawk
Estronac	Bendja	Stomach
Etemuer	Tiranapala	To snare
Etoile	Mounra	Star-decoration
Eucalyptus	Ourodge	Eucalyptus
Palm	Iough	Hunger
Femme	Kalo	Woman
Feu	Kamol	Fire
Fourche d'arbre	Kizumbo	Loaf of a tree
Pilon	Borak	To smell
Flèche (arme)	Kama	Spear (weapon)
Papa	Wawawano	Brother
Pant	Holo	Forehead
Fusette	Nadore	Spindle
Genou	Omouch	Knee
Cervelle (poison)	Kourata	- (test)
Holothur (coquille)	Biaouk	- (shell)
Homéon	Kouruzi	Fish hook
Homme	Miki	Man
Huître	Koroko, mesial	Oyster
Jambe	Kouloro	Leg
Joue	Kragne	Young
Joue	Beta	Cheek
Kangourou	Kangourou	Kangaroo
Lait	Awantan	Milk
Langue	Tale n	Tongue
Lune	Tchouawern	Moon
Lingotiyéh/otéku	Ioungan	
Main	Maxamale	Hand
Mamelle	Amgnam	Breast
Manger	Talinga	To eat
Marcher	Iandha	To walk, go
Mauvaise	Kasan	Evil, ill, bad
Menton	Walo	Chin
Mer	Ti	Sea
Montagne	Pourmara	Mountain
Monde	Bersh	To bite
Mulle (poisson)	Moran	- (test)
Murex tuberculéux	Mokoulengra	-
Murex à larges côtes	Tarsundo	-
Murin-chasseur		
(à tête verte)	Toukoulouba	-
Moule (coquille)	Kanel	Mussel (shell)
Nager	Walinnin	To row, swim
Notice (coquille)	Tianbigara	- (shell)

Nante noire	Moni	-
Nez	Nenora	Nose
Neige	Mounak	Black
Non	Aaynh	No
Not	Pouman?	Night
Oeil	Ierinn	Eye
Cessau	Tobouppourouli	Bird
Ongles	Berenou	Finge maliciale
Oreilles	Koun	Ears
Oui	Aou	Yes
Ourdin	Piegnaad	Sal-salchin
Pather	Komo	Beak talk
Pauphophile (mollusque)	Wainaha	- (mollusc)
Patello (coquille)	Marcumbra, obingot	Limpet (shell)
Patte d'oiseau	Tanna	Bird's foot
Pette	Bagagno	Sole
Piegno (coquille)	Korongo	Comb (shell)
Pionoquet à tête rouge	Gatandjan	Red headed parrot
Pionuque à tête bleue	Parku	Blue headed parrot
Philodone gre	Koukainikan	-
Pied	Tong	Foot
Prêne	Koroba	Stone
Prêter	Penda	Paris
Ratycophale (poisson)	Tagala	- (fish)
Pleurer	Pedn	Crying
Plume	Gu lofa	Feather
Poil	Tigr	Hair
Poisson	Tagn	Fish
Potina	Bengol, pengal	Breast
Queue (d'oiseau)	Ketolia	Bird's tail
Ramette de Jervis	Karangala	-
Rocher tempe (coquille)	Marangala	Rock horn (shell)
Roi	Na	King
Rond	Tolik	Circle
Scirpe	Kouroumbou	-
Sifler	Wendal	To what is
Silago argente (poisson)	Wardou	(fish)
Soleil	Ora	Sun
Squale (grand) de Jervis	Paro	-
Telline (coquille)	Madoua	- (shell)
Testicule	Moura	Testicle
Tete	Holo	Head
Trancocâle? prendcâle?	Kalmaran	-
Tousser	Kadabekou	To cough
Trappe élégant	Kanikatti	-
Tressé (pour les cheveux)	Balambra	Plat (for the hair)
Trochus (coquille)	Tora, tacura	Trochus (shell)
Turbo (coquille d'argent)	Wenda	-
Ventre	Pingu	Abdomen
Venus (coquille)	Wououa	Venus (shell)
Volute (coquille)	Tahui	Hole (shell)
Vulve	Brelanga	Vagina

Un	Miriam	One
Deus	Poular	Two
Troe	Kalorba	Three
Quarts	Takounn	Four
Cinq	Bryba	Five

(Where ' - ' is located in the last column, the English translation is not known)

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[1826] 79 Aborigines at Kangaroo Valley

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#### **Murder at Hell Hole**

8 October 1826. A convict is robbed and murdered near Mount Katta by fellow convicts whilst on his way to the hospital at Liverpool.

A local native, Charley Hooks, who initially guided the victim towards the road near Mount Katta, later located the body in an area known as 'Hell-Hole' and submitted written evidence to the subsequent trial in Sydney (Refer W.G McDonald, *A Horrible Bloody Murder done at the Hell Hole...*, Illawarra Historical Society, 1988)

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1827

#### **Rape of an Aboriginal Woman at Sydney**

3 January 1827: [Sydney Gazette] Report on the rape of an Aboriginal woman in the streets of Sydney

On Monday evening last, as Mr. James Pearson, of Castlereagh street, was crossing the old Race-ground, his attention was attracted by the cries of a tomahawk, and, on approaching the spot whence the sound proceeded, he perceived an aboriginal native woman on the ground, surrounded by seven or eight natives, one of whom held her down, whilst another was in the act of forcing her person.

Mr. Pearson immediately went in search of some constables, whom, after some little trouble of time, he succeeded in procuring, and having conducted them to the scene of outrage, found only two of the natives remaining with the unfortunate woman, one of them still holding her whilst the other was in the very act of effecting his brutal purpose.

After some struggle, they were secured, but on the way to the watch-house, one of them, whose name has since been ascertained, James Wright, effected his escape, the other, named James Hunter, was yesterday brought before the Police, and the depositions of Mr. Pearson and the constables having been taken, the case was remanded, in order to take the opinion of the Acting Attorney General, as to the mode of procedure.

(It appears that no further action was taken in this case, and once again reveals the low regard with which Aborigines were held in New South Wales at the time. British law offered them next to no protection, whether they were residents of Sydney or on the edges of settlement along the frontier)

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### Thuruwal - Cabbage Tree

4 March 1827. Martin Lynch and family arrive in Illawarra, settling near Fairy Meadow. Writing in 1859, Mr Lynch remembered:

We settled on the south bank of Towal Creek, the aboriginal name, no named Cabbage Tree. The reason why it was called Cabbage Tree - the first Burrow that ever was over it was built with Cabbage tree slopes and slabs, was built by Mr William Wilson, the owner of Balgownie...

[The 'Towal Creek' was obviously Mr Lynch's interpretation of the local Aboriginal word 'Thuruwal', meaning 'Cabbage Tree'. This word was later adapted to name the town of 'Thrusul', and is also generally applied (Eades, 1976) to the language once spoken by the Aborigines of Botany Bay and Illawarra.]

### Augustus Earle, Artist, at Illawarra

May 1827. Augustus Earle, artist, visits Illawarra, producing the following works with Aboriginal subjects:

- \* A Bivouac in New South Wales, daybreak [1827]  
Watercolour National Library of Australia
- \* A Bivouac of Travellers in Australia, in a Cabbage Tree Forest, Daybreak [1833]  
Oil National Library of Australia

Both works are reproduced in R. Ritchie (1969).

### Supposed Murder of O'Brien Brothers

29 October 1827? (Sydney Gazette) Report that the O'Brien brothers (Cornelius and Henry) had been killed by natives at Botany Bay.

From information received in town, we are sorry to learn that serious apprehensions are entertained for the lives of Mr Cornelius and Mr Henry O'Brien, who are alleged to have been murdered by the natives at Botany Bay. It appears that the brothers had gone some distance into the interior, and the report of their death was conveyed by one of the friendly natives. We sincerely hope that this information may turn out to be untrue.

2 July 1827. Deposition given by the Aboriginal Charley Hooke re the murder of a convict at the Hell Hole near Wollongong in October 1826, and his role in locating the body (AONSW).

1628

**16 Whalers Supposedly Killed at Twofold Bay**

Wednesday, 24 September 1828 (Sydney Gazette) Report that 16 European whalers had been killed by natives at Twofold Bay

This notice was subsequently proven to be false - see also report of 3 October 1828 below

The Honorable Mr Berry, at an early hour yesterday morning, received a communication from Mr Wollstonecraft, at Shoalhaven, announcing the melancholy information of the destruction of 16 men out of a party of 25, belonging to Mr Rame's whaling establishment at Two-fold Bay, by the natives, who, it is said, surprised the Europeans, and slew two thirds of their number before they had time to defend themselves!

Mr Wollstonecraft, with the most benevolent promptitude, endeavoured to despatch the little cutter, the Gilly, with a detachment of the military stationed at Illawarra, to the rescue of those who might still be alive, but, on account of the continued impetuosity whether to the Southward, it was found utterly impossible for Mr W. to carry his views into effect, and he therefore despatched the vessel to Sydney with such particulars as had come to his knowledge.

It seems some of the natives have been the authors of this dreadful intelligence, which was quite unexpected, as it was reported that a good understanding prevailed between the natives and the Europeans in the vicinity of Two-fold Bay. Some doubts are yet entertained of the truth of this dismal account, as the report goes to state, after killing the adventurous Europeans, the aborigines devoured them!

The fact has never been properly ascertained that the natives of New Holland are cannibals, and as this part of the information is thought to be exaggerated, perhaps it may be as well to suspend our judgement until we hear something more authentic, though the names of some of the parties said to be killed are enumerated. Mr Wollstonecraft, however, most certainly writes under the impression that every iota of the intelligence is too correct.

**Natives Friendly at Twofold Bay**

3 October 1828 (Sydney Gazette) Notice re the erroneous report of the murder of 16 Europeans at Twofold Bay

On Wednesday last arrived, from Twofold Bay, the brig Ann, Captain Burrell, with a cargo of oil, whalebone, &c. - We are happy to state there is no foundation for the report of the natives having murdered a great part of the crew of this vessel, they having, on the contrary, evinced a friendly disposition towards them the whole time they were in Twofold Bay.

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**Reminiscences of Alexander Stewart****Tribal Gathering at Spring Hill**

November 1880 Alexander Stewart, a young convict, arrives in Illawarra

In 1884 he was interviewed by John Brown, and stated the following regarding the local Aborigines at the time of his arrival in Illawarra (Reminiscences, Illawarra Mercury, 1884)

Mr Brown: Do you remember anything about the blacks here in the early days?

Mr Stewart: Yes. When I first came down here (to Bawama), in 1828, I resided for three months at Spring Hill, not far from the old Depto Read, where I carried on my business of bootmaking. The blacks were very numerous in the district at that time, especially about Tom Thumb Lagoon, Mullet Creek and the Laka, for they lived mostly on fish.

Whilst residing at Spring Hill about 100 blacks, including girls and their children, assembled one afternoon in front of my house, and not far distant. The gathering was made up of blacks from different parts of the district, but were only portions of these from the different parts.

They assembled to punish one of their number, a black fellow, for taking away another man's gun. They were all painted, after the fashion of savage nations, with papaway, and they were feathers and other things to give them a warlike look.

On inquiry I found from the most intelligible of them that the culprit was to stand a certain number of spears being thrown at him. This was his punishment. The man whose gun was taken was the man who threw the spears. The culprit was allowed a shield behind which he could neatly hide himself.

The thrower had his spears - about a dozen - slung on his back. They were a sort of reed, pointed with a stone of iron.

The crowd formed into two wings, the two principals between, one at each end. The man with the spears often pretended to throw to see if he could catch his opponent unawares, and the culprit would dodge and crouch down behind his shield. Some of the spears went over his head and some were broken on the shield. The blacks were good marksmen, being very quick in the eye, and they were just as quick in using the shield. The thrower did a good deal of "jabbering", but what it was all about I could not tell.

When all the spears had been thrown the man who had been the target walked away unharmed. As he was safe and sound he was considered invincible.

It then began to get dark, and the gins lit the fires. They stripped the bark off trees, and lay down upon it beside the trees. When the darkness came on they held a corroboree. The gins played upon sticks and sang, and the blacks danced. The culprit was taken back into the fold and welcomed by his fellows with open arms.

The corroboree was kept up till 9 or 10 o'clock, and when it was over they all lay down, and remained there till next morning, when they dispersed to their respective localities.

Samuel Foley, the only blacksmith here at the time, and the first in Bawama, with his family, witnessed the event as well as myself, but no other white people saw it. Foley's house was beside where I was living.

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Reverend Kendall at Uticabula

[1828] Reverend Thomas Kendall (wife at Uticabula, also known as "Woollahdene" or Wasp Harbour W A Bayley (Sheaheaven, p 34) records that

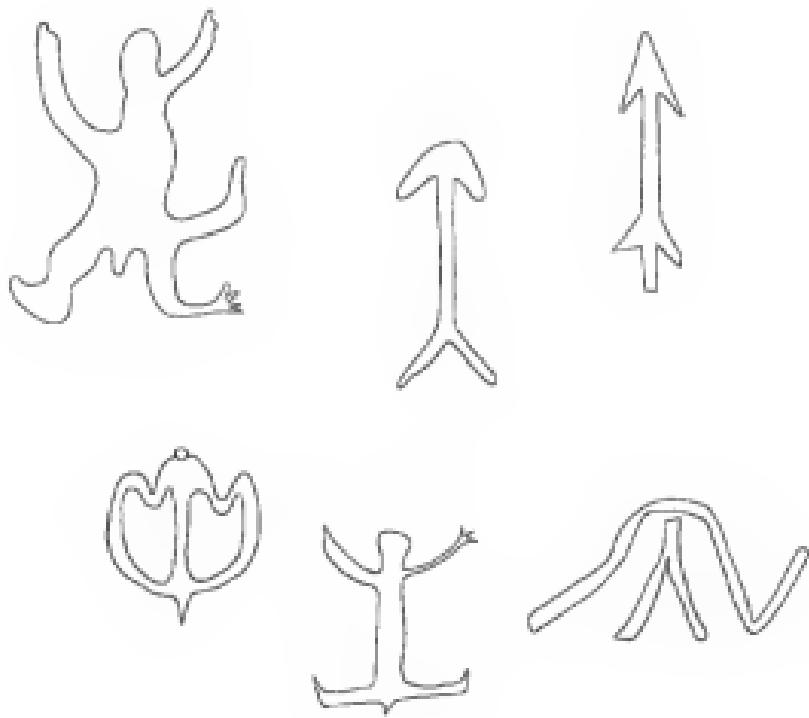
Kendall on arrival found a blacks camp on the north side of Malaria's Creek, which flows into the harbour.

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1629

28 July 1829. The Postbound sinks off Coalcliff and [two]ma Aborigines had come off the wreckage, reporting the information to the police and guiding them to the spot.

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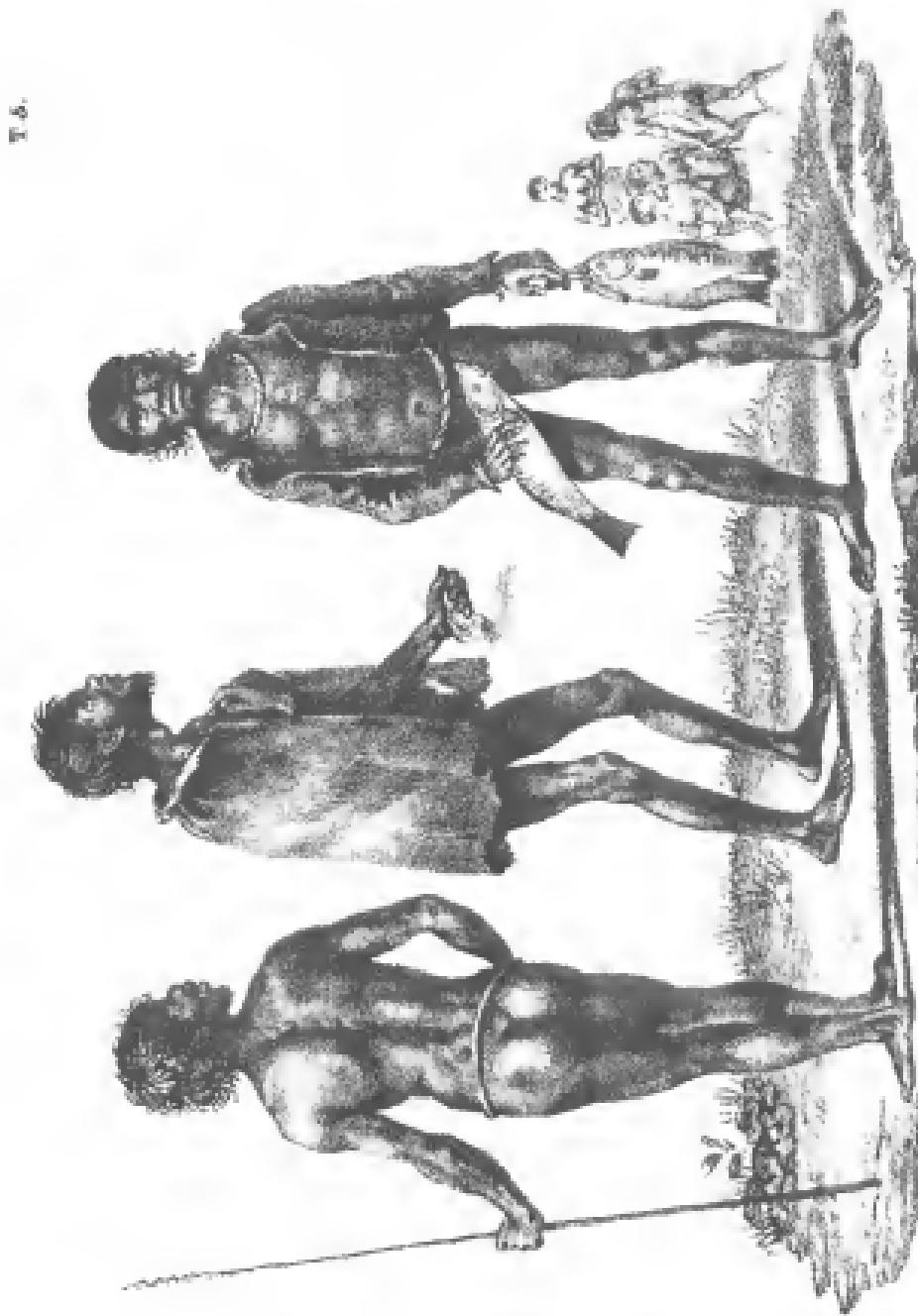


Rock engravings from a shelter near Milton  
(Etheridge, 1904)



Louis Auguste de Salignac - Sailors from the Australian shark  
their catch with the natives (lithograph, 1833)

Natives of Jervis Bay - after de Solignac, 1826 (Lithograph, 1833)



## The Battle of Fairy Meadow & Massacre at Murra Merang

1830 - 1832

This period is marked by a number of examples of the destruction of the local Aboriginal people - the first at their own hands (of the account is to be believed) and the second at the hands of white settlers.

Around 1830 the 'Battle of Fairy Meadow' occurred between the Wollongong and Bong Bong Aboriginal tribes, in which a number of warriors were killed on both sides.

In 1832 there was a massacre of defenceless natives by white settlers at Murra Merang in retaliation for the spearing of cattle and a bullock.

It is also possible that the smallpox plague which spread throughout New South Wales during 1829-30 (Bulkin, 1983) may also have had a destructive effect on the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines.

1830

### The Battle of Fairy Meadow

[c1830] When interviewed by Archibald Campbell in 1897 (refer Appendix 2), Martin Lynch - who had arrived in Illawarra in 1827 - described the 'Battle of Fairy Meadow', a tribal encounter between the Wollongong & Bong Bong Aborigines. It took place at Fairy Meadow, just north of Wollongong.

Lynch also included an account in a later letter to Mr Campbell. Both are reproduced below - the first as recorded by Campbell in 1897, the second is taken from the letter by Lynch of 1899.

#### Aborigines

Mr Lynch in his early boyhood - about 1830 - witnessed a battle at Fairy Meadow, between the Illawarra blacks and the Bong Bong blacks, over something in the lady tea.

The battle took place in a naturally clear spot - the real Fairy Meadow - situated immediately on the North and East of what is now the junction of the Main Road and Mt Gusley road. Mr Lynch

decades that several hundred men on each side took part in the battle, which consisted of a series of intermittent onslaughts, which extended over three days and nights.

During the continuance of the battle some of the men and women would go abroad hunting for food.

The battle was won by the Illawarra blacks. Many blacks on both sides were killed and more wounded. The killed were buried in the tea Tree Scrub between the site of the battle and the sea (between the arms of Fairy Creek). The weapons were mostly spears, "nullah nullahs", and "wadders" of one shape or another.

Mr Lynch explained that the dead of both parties were buried along the northwest bank of Fairy Creek, east of the North Hawaian Council Chamber. About 70 men were killed in the battle, including both sides, and all the corpses were buried by the victorious Illawarra tribe.

The graves were dug along the bank of the creek, which was somewhat sandy, the depth of each being about three or four feet. The blankets, tomahawks, "billy" cans and all other articles owned by each of the deceased were buried with them, some wood also being placed on top of the corpse. The explanation given by the survivors was that the wood and other articles would be required by the departed "in another country".

He (Mr Lynch) witnessed the burial of several of the men killed in the battle. The place of the burial was not the usual locality for interment by the blacks - the slain in battle only being placed there. The usual burial place in that quarter was in the sandy bush land on the south side of Fairy Creek - now Stuart Park - east and west of the Pavilion. The sand banks, near Tom Thumb Lagoon, Bellambi, and Townsley, were Illawarra burial places, where many bodies were interred from time to time. He had witnessed nearly twenty blacks buried in the spot near Fairy Creek already mentioned. As a rule they did not desire white people to know where they (the blacks) buried their dead, but after the district became somewhat settled their burials could not be kept secret.

The blacks carrying out the burials and the deceased's relatives used to stripe their bodies and heads and necks and limbs with papacyay, as marks of mourning for the departed.

Regarding the battle, he had witnessed it each of the three days over which it extended - hostilities being suspended at nightfall. His mother and step-father also viewed it each day from the elevated ground between Mr Bates's backyard and Mrs Aquilla Parsons's residence.

The Illawarra tribe fought on the north side of the Meadow, and the Bong Bong tribe on the south. Spears were thrown thick and fast between the combatants, and repeatedly he had seen men struck with them on both sides, sometimes causing the man struck to fall mortally wounded, while in some instances the wounded person would struggle to withdraw the spear - not always successfully.

In close quarters, "nullah nullahs" and other hand to hand weapons were used furiously in the mortal combat - one of the persons so injured not infrequently having his skull crushed or limbs broken.

The dead were left unburied until the battle was over, after which the victors carried the bodies to the place stated and buried them there as already intimated.

The cause of the battle was the taking away from the Bong Bong blacks a young "jin" of their tribe by an Illawarra black designated "Dr Ellis" by the whites. He induced her to leave her tribe with him, and carried her away captive unknown to them, and hence the rupture between the two tribes, resulting in the battle and bloodshed narrated. The captive maid was in the immediate vicinity of the hostilities all the time as were the "jins", the latter carrying about and supplying to the male warriors the deadly weapons and other requirements of the ongoing engagement.

The young jin who was the cause of all the bloodshed did not hide her desire to flee to her own tribe, even while the battle was proceeding, but from doing so she was terribly prevented, and

beaten again and again most brutally, until her head was almost in a state of jelly and was covered in gore - the brutality being inflicted mainly by her captor ("Dr Ellis"). So frightened was she beaten and battered that his (Mr Lynch's) mother took compassion on her and took her to her own home and doctorred her there for some time until she recovered sufficiently to rejoin her lord and master and her tribe.

The Bong Bong blacks came down the mountain range from their own country, making the descent opposite Coppi, to wage war with the Illawarra tribe, of whose hands they sustained defeat in the pitched battle as stated - the survivors returning again by the same route over the mountain to Bong Bong to tell their tales of blood and daring deeds by the way.

The young woman, or "jin", concerning whom the battle took place, remained in Illawarra all the remainder of her life and passed away, as did the whole of her race, from time to time in rapid diminution, unknown and unknown in an historic sense. Bungum was the mortal tribal conflict that had taken place regarding her, and numerous as were the slain that bled or fell in her interest.

Her remains, like those of the noble warriors who died concerning her, were interred in the usual crude grave in Illawarra soil, without a stone or any other sign to show her last resting place.

Mr Lynch states that he never remembered the blacks having actually murdered any white persons in the district, though several were poised by them now and again. He mentioned however that Mr Hicks, subsequently of Illulli, was decoyed into the bush in the Shoalhaven district under the pret of showing him some cedar, and that he narrowly escaped being killed by his later guide or guides. He saved his life by jumping over a precipice, falling on suspended vines and thereby being saved from being smashed in the fall.

In a letter written by Martin Lynch in 1888 he states:

... Recollect to see the fight between the Bong Bong Aboriginal tribe and Wolbungong tribe. Both tribes in number would fully 15 hundred - 1000 500. The number killed would be over 100. This was organised by Aboriginal Dr Ellis taking a gun away from the Bong Bong tribe. The fight was on Mr James Townsend paddock, which is accually Patta Meadow. They burned the dead at the bottom on Townsend paddock on an arm of Paddy Creek.

[Doctor Ellis is listed in the Blanket Returns of 1838 and 1840 as a member of the Bong Bong & Bemina tribes, though he was in Illawarra in 1833 to receive a blanket. Refer also to Archibald Campbell Papers, Appendix 2.]

### The Execution of Breger

#### for the Murder of a White at Shoalhaven

26 August 1838 (Sydney Gazette) Report on the trial and execution of Breger, a Shoalhaven Aborigine, who is hung at Campbelltown for the murder of one of Alexander Berry's men at Coolangatta.

#### Campbell Town Gazette

We have been favoured with the following complete list of prisoners tried before the Honourable the Chief Justice, at the adjourned Sessions of the Supreme Court, held at Campbell Town.

Friday, 29th

Broger, an aboriginal native, was indicted for the wilful murder of John Rennell at Shoalhaven, on the 8th February, 1829 - Guilty, Death. Ordered for execution on Monday the 23rd instant.

#### Alexander Berry's Account

In 1871 the following account of Broger's crime and punishment was published, based on the reminiscences of Alexander Berry.

There was a Native Chief of the name of Brogher, who was the brother of Broughton, a great friend of mine. (They gave their names to Broughton's Creek and to Brogher's Creek.)

One day Brogher and another Native went to two sawyers, and promised to show them a quantity of cedar trees, but they suddenly attacked the sawyers in the bush, and killed one of them. The other escaped. A constable was sent from Sydney, who apprehended the two blacks, took them on board one of my vessels, fastened them with a padlock to the chain cable, and then lay down to sleep. But Brogher noticed that he put the key in his pocket, and as soon as he was sound asleep, the Natives snatched the key from his pocket, opened the padlock, and then swam ashore. Unfortunately for themselves, however, they did not leave the district, but boarded of the boat they had committed, and they were again captured. On their arrival in Sydney they were put into a watch-house near Darling Harbour, and one night the companion of Brogher escaped, and endeavoured to cross the upper part of the harbour, but the tide was out, and he stuck in the mud, in which he was found dead next morning.

When Brogher was brought to the Police Court, I was on the Bench, along with Mr Windoyer, the Police Magistrate. Poor Brogher smiled when he saw me. I addressed him and said, 'I am sorry to see you here, accused of killing a white man. I did not think you would have killed anyone. I have more than once walked with you alone in the bush when I was unarmed and you were armed with a spear, and might have easily killed me, had you wished.'

Brogher replied, 'I would not have killed you, for you was my Master, and was always very good to me.'

Mr Windoyer said, 'He is an ingenuous fellow this, and I should be sorry to see him hanged.'

But he was tried and convicted.

His defence was that the sawyers threatened him, and that he killed him in self-defence.

He was kept long in prison before the sentence was carried into effect. Meanwhile, the Chief Justice invited him there, when he made a confession, and said that he had eaten the tongue of the Sawyer that he might speak good English. Some days, however, after his execution, a party of natives came to me, and said that they had witnessed the hanging of Brogher, but that, according to what they understood of the matter, he had suffered unjustly, for that he had killed the white man in self-defence.

#### L. Breton's Account

(Another account of the circumstances surrounding Broger's murder of a whiteman is contained in Lieutenant Breton's *Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Dieman's Land* during the years 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1833, (2nd edition, Richard Bentley, London, 1834, p. 160).

During his visit to the Colony, Britton visited Illawarra, and at some point recorded the following horrific tale of the murder of a whiteman by a Shoalhaven Aborigine, obviously a Roger:

... At Shoal Haven River there occurred, some years since, so curious an instance of superstition, that it may be worthy of mention. Three hatless persuaded a colored servant to accompany them in search of cedar, an ornamental and useful wood that is found in this part of the country.

The man, naturally expecting no treachery was intended, as he, in common with others, had been accustomed to such expeditions, set off with them without hesitation - for the blacks, being much better acquainted with the localities, save both time and trouble to those who have occasion to penetrate into the "bush".

The parties, watching a favourable opportunity, pushed him over a precipice, and he was killed upon the spot. One of them cut out his tongue, and ate it, in the supposition that as he had eaten the tongue of a white man, he would in consequence be enabled to speak English!

I readily grant this is somewhat marvellous, but there is not the smallest reason to doubt the word of the gentlemen who related the circumstance to me. He added, that the body was subsequently found, and one of the blacks described the cause and manner of death.

[Whilst British justice was swift in its dealings with Broger for murdering a whiteman, as we have seen (cf. Seth Howker, 1832; Joseph Bonnyman, 1832-3) the same was not true when a white person was involved in the murder of an Aborigine. In such cases acquittal was the norm, if they bothered to go to trial. Broger was of course denied traditional Aboriginal justice.]

See also Alexander Bonny's reminiscences of 1838 for another reference to Broger's trial and hanging.

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#### W.R. Govett in Illawarra

[1830] William Rossiter Govett was surveying in the area between Bullock, Appin, and Dong Dong in 1830. In his *Sketches of New South Wales*, 1848, he comments:

The swamps appear green, are in many places furrowed as it with a plough, and very watery and nearly destitute of timber. (The emu frequents, as well as the wild turkey, these swampy plains, and were seen at various times by myself and party) ...

... The most western stream is called by the natives Tupperath (cold) Creek, which unites with Georges River, in an acute bend near the town of Liverpool.

[Peter also W.R. Govett 'Notes and sketches taken during a surveying expedition in N South Wales and Blue Mountains Roads', Mitchell Library manuscript]

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#### Robert Hoddle at Illawarra

[1830] Robert Hoddle was a surveyor and amateur artist who worked in the Illawarra and Kiama area during 1830.

In 1869 a Melbourne artist - Henry Gritten - produced a number of oil paintings based on Hoddle's sketches, including one entitled "Kaima, Illawarra, N.S.W." depicting an Aboriginal family of two

adults and five children, camped by their bark hut in the forest near Kurna. Peter Ritchie (1988, p.38) for reproduction.

#### Alexander Harris in Illawarra

[c1830] Alexander Harris is a somewhat mysterious Mersey figure who was in Illawarra for a number of years between 1829-36, possibly under the name of H.A. D. Bennett.

Following his return to England around 1841 he published the autobiographical works *Setters and Convicts* (London, 1847, re-issued Melbourne, 1984) and *Religo Christi* (re-issued as *The Secrets of Alexander Harris*, Melbourne, 1981).

Whilst at Illawarra Harris is known to have worked as clerk to the Bench of Magistrates at Wollongong, and his two books make a number of references to the local Aborigines. Harris himself was somewhat racist and fearful of the Aborigines - he strongly supported the 1833 petition calling for the acquittal of the perpetrators of the Myall Creek massacre, though in his writing he also clearly expounded the validity of Aboriginal resistance to the white invasion.

The following incident, in which Harris becomes trapped on a rocky, seaside ledge, is taken from *The Secrets of Alexander Harris* (op. cit., pp 145-6), and occurred in the northern part of Illawarra - near Coalcliff or Stanwell Park - sometime in the early 1830s. (Perhaps Harris was being taken to the location of the wreck of the *Possum* [after under 1829] when he became trapped).

At this period I met with one of those hair-breadth escapes from sudden death which I have already referred to as having at last turned my thoughts officially to the question of the reality of an after-life.

I started off one morning with the chief of a partly civilized tribe of aborigines as my guide, for a day's tramping. We took our way along the beach, and for some miles had good travelling. At length the sandy beach gave place to a level surface of rock, several rods wide, running along the base of a precipice, a sort of natural pavement. After a while this level surface divided into two parts, one of which kept about the level of the sea, whilst the other became a broad inclined plane, gradually but steadily rising along the face of the precipitous bluff. The aborigine, going first, took the lower course, and I, supposing he knew best where he had lived all his life, followed him without any apprehension of being led into danger. It was not till our course had carried us many feet above the level of the sea, that a single thought passed through my mind of the rising platform having been much narrower. Not, when I did notice it, did the thought more than pass transiently through my mind. I was thinking of matters not connected with either the time or the place, and the slight cautionary idea passed away again unheeded. The rocky path was, to the best of my recollection, then about two feet wide.

Forward we went, the aboriginal about two or six steps ahead. The path became narrower, but my guide kept on, whilst I, still under the influence of the single idea of following him, kept on also. All of a sudden, my progress was checked. I had made a few steps too far to return, and stood already on the commencement of a path which it seemed impossible to traverse without falling. I was, in fact, already in such a critical position that I had instinctively passed my gun, as I moved on, from my right hand (which was on the outside) to my left, lest its weight should overbalance me.

At the spot where I stood, one of my feet the length of a short step before the other, the ledge was certainly no more than between four and five inches broad, it was of such rotten material (a small stratum of coal or black shale), that its loose fragments crushed beneath my tread, and the outer edge was considerably lower. I should think about an inch lower, than the inner. The face of the rock outside me fell as straight downward as a plumb-line to a great depth, and the sea was breaking in heavy surges against the base. On the left the rock rose by my side so steep as not to

very from a perpendicular, in the distance from my feet to my shoulder, by more than two or six inches.

I saw in an instant that I could not turn on my toes, or take the cliff, without throwing my weight outside the brink of the precipice, if I happened to roll in the slightest degree, nor yet on my heels, turning back the little I might without having them slip off the oblique crumbling ledge. There was no time for indecision, for the sea was gaining the cliff itself to such a degree that for the first instant or two after stopping, I felt as if that would shake me off. I saw that I had but the single choice - forward or downward.

Leaning the gun against the rock, I lifted up first one foot to the other knee, and unlaced the boot and drew it off (in Australia at that time lace boots chiefly were worn in the rural parts), then, holding that by the lace with my teeth, got off the other. In like manner, tied the strings together, and slung them round my neck. I took up my gun and looked forward; it was but a few paces, the aboriginal had sprung across a chasm of about three feet wide at a break of the cliff, and stood on a little green knoll, the top of a land-slip made by the other section of the cliff beyond the chasm. But, near the end of those few paces. I could see a spot which was rather worse than where I stood, the rock on the left more nearly perpendicular, leaving less room to lean forward, the footing narrower and more shelving.

... My guide sat crouched close to the ground on the little verdant flat ahead, intently watching me, and beyond him, miles away, the dark blue polished sea marked its clear and beautiful curve along the soft azure sky.

Forward! The gun in my inner hand, to keep my balance as secure as possible, foot beyond foot in the spirit of "do or die", a spring across the chasm, and it was accomplished. The aboriginal, I found afterwards, had given it over as a lost case; would not speak for fear of dividing my attention and destroying any little hope that remained. Learning to travel the path when so small that there was plenty of space for him, and now traversing it without boots or clothing, or accoutrements of any kind, he had never reflected on the peril to a white man involved in traversing it under circumstances so different and disadvantageous.

I am sure there are but few who will not concur that this was a lesson of some weight, provided the subject of it were not quite a fool. Most minds would vindicate me from the imputation of weakness. In new feeling that the immorality of the soul and its destined hereafter constituted a question no longer to be trifled with.

That night I had to remain on the landslip, which was one of considerable extent, and having an easy grass-grown declivity down to the sea. I had, therefore, nothing to attract my thoughts from the subject. The aboriginal went back to his camp. Making his way across the chasm with a leap, and holding on with both arms to the corner of the rock till he had steadied himself, he tripped as lively as a cat along the edge, and turning an instant to laugh and say, "I believe blackfellow bad man", was soon out of sight.

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Other instances of Harris's contact with the Illawarra Aborigines are contained in his *Setters and Convicts* (London 1847).

The Mullett creek where we passed I must have been nearly five and thirty feet wide, and the bridge was one of those slender cabbage trees grown on the bank, and hung by some bushmen or ditch across the creek with the root either with a view to using it as a bridge or for the sake of the inferior part of the head, which is very similar when dressed to cabbage, and is a favourite article of food with many. The agility and ease with which the blacks run across these cabbage tree bridges is quite astonishing, even the girls (women) with their piccaninnies on their backs seem to cross quite at ease. ... (p. 26)

At about 2 o'clock, or a little after, the man who had been left at our hut with me, on hearing our dog bark, ordered me to call him off, giving at the same time that shrill clear coo-eeh which the whites have learnt from the blacks ... (p.36)

... I was not then aware that the aborigines are so well acquainted with the bush as to be able to point out the most practical tracks in any direction (p.42)

[See also under 1837 for a description of Hume's experiences at St. George's Basin around that time]

### 'Aboriginal Outrage' at St. Vincent

1830-1831

By 1830 large numbers of cattle and sheep had been moved onto land along the South Coast of New South Wales, placing stress on the resources of the local people.

During the later half of 1830 conflict arose along the south coast between whites (recent settlers and their men) and the local Aborigines who were occasionally spearing cattle and bullocks. The whites considered these deeds 'atrocities' and called on the Governor to send soldiers to the area, and in the meantime to the west, or permit the locals to take action against the natives.

The following extract from Gibney's history of Eurobodalla (1990, pp 22-23) gives a concise summary of the events:

The problem of race relations soon reared its head. In September 1830 William Turney Morris, JP, of Murrumbat, complained to the Colonial Secretary that all coastal settlers were losing cattle to native spearmen. Thompson at Batemans Bay had lost six, Flanagan had lost two and Captain Thomas Raine's men on his station near Mt. Dromedary had lost several. Thompson and his men had been threatened and Flanagan's supervisor J. Egan, would only venture out with a musket. Thompson and Egan, Morris asserted, had always been particularly kind to the natives. Flanagan himself reiterated the complaint:

I most humbly beg further to state, that although no person can entertain more charitable feelings for our unenlightened brethren, or be more insensible to coercion than myself, nevertheless I beg to suggest the necessity ... of their being made to see our superiority of power ...

Morris continued to agitate for permission to shoot ringleaders or for a protective guard of soldiers. The Governor refused to sanction either course, but in December instructed Lieutenant Lachlan Macalister to take a patrol into the disturbed area.

Macalister was an unusually intelligent officer. He sought pacification not punishment and, fortunately upon meeting the offenders sat down to talk to them. He discovered that relations between settlers and the coastal people were uniformly excellent. All the trouble came from mountain rangers who felt themselves neglected because government had not given them blankets like their coastal compatriots. Blankets were provided and the war was at once over. Even Morris ceased to complain and the Aboriginal people never again attempted resistance.

[Unfortunately the above account glosses over the more unsavory aspects of the affair - it does not describe the European atrocities. The original letters and documents, from the Archives Office of New South Wales, describing these events are transcribed below]

24 September 1830 W T Morris to the Colonial Secretary (ADNSW, 2/6020 4, 30/7308), asking for permission to shoot local Aborigines accused of spearing cattle.

Moormoontang 24 Sept 1830

The Honorable  
The Colonial Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to inform his Excellency the Governor that several acts of hostility have been committed by the native Blacks in the County. The grossest of which are killing 4 Cows & Bullocks of Mr Thompson's at Belamena Bay, five belonging to the station of Nethangara near Ruffwong, two belonging to Mr Flanagan on the Norrabo River, & several on the station of Capt Raine near Mount Dromedary, besides numerous others that they have speared & hunted but not killed.

They have also threatened the lives of Mr Thompson & his men & Mr Egan (Mr Flanagan's overseer) and his men, so that they dare not go abroad without a musket. In fact they seem to show greater hostility to Mr Thompson and Mr Egan than to any other persons in the neighbourhood and I consider their lives are in Danger if something is not quickly done to suppress the present fast increasing practice among the Mountain Blacks of slaughtering Cattle in the Bush here & be followed here as it was at Bokhurst by killing the White People also.

If permission was given to those appreased to shoot such of the Blacks as are known to be negroes in these districts it would make an Example to the other Blacks and be in my opinion a means of preventing further loss of property & perhaps life.

The parties here spoken of as being in the greatest Danger have always shown particular kindness to the Blacks. I am therefore the more surprised at their ungrateful conduct.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servt  
W T Morris

Laid before Sirs Council 12th Novr 1830 and returned to His Excellency EDT

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29 September 1830 W T Morris to the Colonial Secretary (ADNSW, 2/6020 4, 30/7683)

Moormoontang St. Yarraw 29th (Sept) 1830

The Honorable  
The Colonial Secretary  
&c &c &c

Sir

Since the last time I had the honor of addressing you of the date of the 14th of this month, the native Blacks have committed further hostilities on Mr Thompson's farm at Belamena Bay, having killed since then six head of cattle and attacked the horses for the same purpose, threatening at the same time to destroy him & his wife and I am afraid lives will be lost there if a few soldiers are not quickly sent there as he has only three men on the farm.

I have also discovered that three head of cattle belonging to Sydney Stephens Esqr and four of mine have been killed by Blacks with whom I am well acquainted and I have the honor to request you will let me know what steps I am to take to punish them as I am very certain that until the chief instigators are severely punished these acts of Robbery will be committed among them, who are moving about among the mountains are only seldom to be met with by the White People.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient Servt

W T Morris

Laid before Govr Council 19th Novr 1830 and returned to His Excellency EDT

4 October 1830: Francis Flanagan to Governor Darling (ACNSW, 200004, 397473)

Kent Street Sydney  
4th Oct 1830

His Excellency Lieut Genl  
Ralph Darling  
Governor & chief of the Territory of  
New South Wales

Sir

May it please your Excellency

It is with feelings of the deepest regret I am compelled to trouble your Excellency, but being informed that the Aborigines in that part of the Colony wherein my Farm is situated, viz the County of St. Vincent, have been very recently committing outrages upon the whole of the Soldiers on the Coast of that County, occupying a space of about 50 miles, by destroying their Cattle and threatening the lives of two persons, of whom my Overseer, a very trustworthy Man, is one, and who was situated by his own feelings as well as my orders always treated the Natives with great kindness, - with a firm conviction that your Excellency is ever watchful over the interest of the Colonists and anxious of affording them every assistance for their security, I am encouaged most humbly to beg, that some active measures will be immediately adopted for the protection of our Persons and Property

I most humbly beg further to state, that although no person can entertain more charitable feelings for our unenlightened Brethren, or be more inclined to cozenise than myself, - nevertheless, I beg to suggest the necessity for our mutual protection and security, of their being made to see our superiority of power, and to that end, I conceive it absolutely necessary that some mode of punishment be adopted for such of them as commit any outrageous act, and I think your Excellency will also see the necessity of it when you consider that a short time since, an outrage of a similar kind was committed on some Cattle the property of Alexr McLoey Esqr in the same neighbourhood, and the Authors of it finding they could do it with impunity, these having been no coercive measures reported to at the time, it has encouraged them to commit the outrages now complained of and to a more alarming extent

Trusting that your Excellency will have the kindness to take the affair into your consideration,

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most Humble Servt

Francis Flanagan

Laid before Govr Council 19th Novr 1830 and returned to His Excellency EDT

5 October 1833: Governor Darling reports to Sir George Murray in Britain (HMA, Sydney, 1822, series I, volume XV, p.772).

...I am sorry to observe that the Natives have also manifested a disposition of late to be troublesome. They have killed cattle at several stations, which has hitherto been unusual, and have menaced the settlers on the borders of Argyle and St. Vincent. The almost boundless extent of the Country will render a large Mounted Force necessary, should the Natives proceed to the same lengths as at Van Diemens Land.

11 October 1833. Edward Wollstonecraft to the Colonial Secretary transmitting a letter from W T Morris (ACNSW 4/6020 4, 20/7684).

Sydney 11th Oct. 1833

Honble Alexr McLay  
Col. Secretary &c &c

Sir

On the other side, I have the honor to transmit a Copy of a letter from Mr Morris the Magistrate of Ultadolla St Vincent, to Mr Berry at Shoal Haven, but which had not reached the hands of Mr Berry and has only this moment come into my possession.

I have the honor to be  
Sir

Your very obd: Servt  
Edward Wollstonecraft

Copy

Feltham 2nd Oct 1833

Honble Alexr. Berry

My dear Sir

Being in an unpleasant Dilemma, I would be glad of your experienced advice

The Blacks have killed three of my Cows and I strongly suspect more. I know all the Blacks who have assisted in killing them. I should be glad to know what conduct to pursue towards them, in order to prevent further atrocities. If you thought it would be right to send any to Sydney, I could easily take them, if I had handcuffs.

I am not the greatest sufferer. My neighbour Mr Thompson of Batemans Bay has lost 12 head of Cattle, and they threaten to destroy him and his place. Mr Stephen has had one Cow killed.

I have written one letter to the Governor about it, and I would feel obliged if you would forward the accompanying one, by the first opportunity you have, for I fear for Mr Thompson.

Yours truly  
W T Morris

15 October 1830: W T Morris's third letter to the Colonial Secretary (ACNSW, 4/8029/4, 20/6020)

Mountcoomb Oct 15th 1830  
St Vincent

To the Honorable the  
Colonial Secretary  
As As As

Sir

I am sorry to have again to revert to the audacious acts of the Blacks and to request his Excellency would send some means of stopping their increasing practice of slaughtering cattle in his neighbourhood. They have lately killed two head on your estate at Camubay besides one on Mr Kondills and yesterday in the middle of the day a party of Blacks rushed Mr Stephen's cattle into the mountains while two white men were on the grounds and saw them. I am not aware that they killed any tho' one Bullock came home with two spears in him. Of my own I am positive of the death of nine and am constantly missing the Blacks tell me of other cattle having been killed, so great has been the slaughter that I shall immediately reinforce the Orphan School cattle [of which they have killed several] and such of my own as I do not want at home, to a distant place.

Mr Thompson has had fifteen of the best of his cattle killed by them and they threaten to destroy him

It has lately come to my knowledge that one Black, that the Stockkeeper at Alladoon, for whose murder together with some house robberies three Bushrangers were hung some months since, was not murdered by them but by one black who is sometimes in that neighbourhood.

I have the honor to request you will have the goodness to inform me if I should apprehend him if it lays at any time in my power.

I have the honor to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient Servt  
W T Morris

Laid before Exco Council 16th Novr. 1830 and returned to His Excellency EDT.

2 November 1830: David Reid and Robert Fuller to the Colonial Secretary (ACNSW, 28/8420/4, 20/6420)

Inverary Argyle 4 Nov 1830

The Honorable  
Colonial Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to enclose a copy of the deposition of Constable Hunter who at the request of Mr. Reid in Dr Reid's absence was sent by Robert Fuller Esqr. to Jembaone to ascertain the particulars of a report that had been received of an attack having been made on one of Dr Reid's shepherds and the dispersion of the flock under his charge by the Black natives, and as it appears by the deposition they were driven into the mountains and a considerable number put into a pen

for the purpose of killing them, and eating them at their leisure, and that they were in the act of roasting these lambs at the time the party came up with them.

We feel anxious to know his Excellency's pleasure & what steps the magistracies are to take, should similar acts of aggression be repeated.

I have the honor  
to be Sir,  
your most ob<sup>t</sup> Servt<sup>s</sup>.  
David Reid J P  
Robt. Futer J P.

William Hunter Only Constable being sworn deponess - That in consequence of information received by Mrs Reid in the absence of Dr Reid of an attack having been made on a shepherd at Jemecbane and a flock of sheep having been taken away by the black natives, Depoent was ordered to go up there and ascertain the facts and accordingly went in company with William Lester, Dr Reid's overseer.

On arrival there they found the shepherd had been severely cut in different parts of the head and neck apparently by a tomahawk and that the shepherd stated that whilst keeping his flock about a mile and half from the hut five black natives came out of the bush and told him they were very hungry and wanted something to eat. The shepherd told them that if they would go to his hut he would give them some victuals. They said they would not go to his hut but that he must come to their camp. The shepherd then went to lead the flock and one of the black natives struck him on the head with a tomahawk and the fall on the ground and they struck him several blows whilst down and repeated the blow.

When he recovered his senses and arose up he found about half a dozen Evans bleating for their lambs. He then made the best of his way to the overseer's hut and stated to the men what had occurred. Two of the men then went out in pursuit of the blacks and came up on the tracks of the sheep and found the flock deficient of 102. The next day they went out again. They saw a fire on the mountain and found 49 sheep in a pen made by the blacks and 3 lambs roasting on the fire, 38 being still missing. On our approach the blacks got behind trees and said that they would come back for some more another time.

On Depoent's and Mrs Reid's overseer among at Jemecbane they murdered all the force they could, three others and themselves, and went in pursuit of the blacks in the direction of Bateman's bay. About five miles to the Eastward of Buckingbowl they came up with 150 to 200 of them but before they could reach them they ran away and they were unable to follow them any farther. They then went to Mr Thompsons at Buckingbowl who informed them that the black natives had killed 15 head of his cattle. They then returned next day by different directions the next day but could not find any more of them.

Sworn before me at  
Inverary Argyle  
1st Novr 1830

Wm Hunter

David Reid J P  
Robt. Futer J P.

.....

19 November 1830. The Executive Council meets to discuss the 'Aboriginal Atrocities' at St Vincent and other localities in the Colony. They decide to send a military party to the area to investigate.

.....

8 December 1830: Colonial Secretary writes to Lt. Macalister requesting him to investigate the 'Aboriginal Atrocities' at St. Vincent and in the mountains to the west.

24 January 1831: Report of Lieutenant Macalister re meeting with the Aborigines at St. Vincent (AONSLW, 205620 4, 31/538)

Bang Bang 24th Jan'y 1831

The Honble.  
The Col. Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that I arrived here last evening after visiting Bateman's Bay, and the other stations mentioned in your letter of the 8th Dec'r last. The result of my communication with the Black natives, I shall in a few words state for the information of His Excellency the Governor.

In the vicinity of Jemiscabane the natives were exceedingly alarmed on perceiving my party. But when assured the Governor had sent me amongst them, more with the view of effecting a good understanding between us (and to advise and caution them against the serious consequences to themselves should they not instantly cease their depredations) than to punish them for past offences, they communicated with me, with astonishing confidence, and with much apparent joy promised not to kill anymore cattle, nor molest the settlers in any manner for the future.

On the mountains between Jemiscabane and Bateman's Bay I was fortunate enough to fall in with twenty of the Mountain Tribe (and the one tribe that has been troublesome). Only one man ventured near me, until I fully made them acquainted with the object I had in view, after which several men of the Tribe met me by appointment at Mr Thompson's the following day.

I parted with them after effecting a good understanding between us, so much so that two or three volunteered to accompany me as guides round Bateman's Bay to Mooramoorang, a service which they performed with much cheerfulness, through a broken and intricate country.

Mr Thompson has been the one sufferer to the Eastward, his farm being immediately under the mountains, as all acts of aggression have been solely confined to the Mountain natives and should these strange people hereafter break the apparent good faith my visit amongst them has produced, and thereby render the adoption of the intended arrangement expedient, to keep them in check, Jemiscabane and Mr Thompson's farm are the only places at which I would recommend to station Military, at both places soldiers can be victualled and accommodated.

A perfectly good understanding has invariably existed between the Settlers and the Coast Natives, therefore to station military at the farms of Meers, Morris & Flanagan (on the coast) cannot in my opinion effect any desirable result.

The Mountain Blacks having complained to me that they are neglected, in not receiving Blankets or Rugs, and I have promised them on the part of the Government, that Twenty four Blankets or Rugs would be forwarded to Mr Thompson's station (by Inverary) for the purpose of being distributed amongst them I therefore beg... to call your attention particularly to this matter, and have only to add that His Excellency the Governor's instructions to me are perfectly made known and understood by all the Black Natives who have been concerned in the depredations.

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most obt. Servt.  
J Macalister J P.

[Attached comment by Governor Darling]

Inform him that his Report is very satisfactory and that the Blankets shall be forwarded as he suggests. Write to Mr Thompson and desire he will follow up the consolatory line of proceeding adopted by Mr Macarthur, which I have no doubt with a proper distribution of the Blankets amongst the most influential Natives, will [have] effect by confirming the ... of these people to the Govt. Let the Blankets be issued immediately.

R D. Feb 6th

[Refer to the Joseph Berryman case (1833-35) for details of further conflicts between whites and Aborigines of St. Vincent]

1831

#### Aboriginal Whalers at Bulli

28 October 1831. (The Australian) Report on Cornelius O'Brien's whaling establishment at Bulli, wherein he was using Aboriginal boys to man his whaling boats:

We are exceedingly gratified to find that Mr Cornelius O'Brien of Illawarra, who has built several vessels there, intends commencing a whaling establishment by boats immediately. For the purpose he has several boats well equipped and manned, chiefly by native lads with all the necessary gear and apparatus. We cordially wish Mr O'Brien the success which his unwearied activity and praiseworthy enterprise merit.

#### Henry Osborne and the Aborigines

[1831] Henry Osborne and family settle at Marshall Mount, west of Dapto. In 1831 Osborne was later to acquire a substantial amount of land in Illawarra and become one of the wealthiest men in the Colony by the time of his death in 1869. His treatment of the local Aborigines is referred to in the following extract [B Thomas, *The Town at the Crossroads*, 1975, p 13]:

At the time Henry Osborne came to Marshall Mount [1831], there were numerous Aborigines in the district, but he and his wife treated them kindly. He used to supply them with meat and fruit every Christmas as it was their custom to camp opposite to where the school now stands. They spent their time throwing spears, boomerangs, and other forms of sport, although the older settlers told of skirmishes along the banks of Marshall Mount Creek at times, but added that they were mostly a friendly lot and did nothing that would destroy the natural beauty of this lovely area.

The last line is a somewhat ironic comment, when we consider the whitemans destruction of the Australian environment over the years since 1788.

.....

1832

#### Overland to Illawarra

October 1832: Around this time a man attempted to travel overland from Botany Bay to Illawarra, expecting to receive assistance from the local Aborigines, however he was unable to find them, and subsequently returned to Sydney (Sydney Gazette, 3 September 1833).

It was in the month of October, 1832, when I started with my two assigned servants from the farm of Mr Connolly, on the south shore of Botany Bay, to proceed near the sea-coast to the Five Islands. The provisions which I was able to carry with me were small, as I hoped to reach in a day or two some habitation.

An overseer of Mr Connolly's (an old soldier) conducted me to a place, from whence it was, as he believed, only one mile to Port Hacking's River, and, after crossing it, he said, I would find some black people to give me some further information. Both these suppositions proved to be false...

W.T. Morris: 'Return of Aboriginal natives taken on the sea coast of the County of St Vincent, 1832', *Australian Aboriginal Papers*, Mitchell Library, pp. 1-9.

Mr Morris was a settler at Muma Merang, south of Ulrichia. Refer also 'The Joseph Berryman Case' below.

1832-33

#### Massacre at Muma Merang

#### The Joseph Berryman Case

##### Sequence of Events

10 December 1832 - A milking cow is wounded by an Aboriginal spear at Muma Merang

17 December 1832 - Late in the evening Jacky Louder, a local Aborigine, informs Joseph Berryman that other Aborigines had speared three head of cattle, and that day a working bullock.

18 December 1832 - A party of convicts and free-men, led by their overseer Joseph Berryman, cold-bloodedly murder a number of Aborigines at Muma Merang, including a young woman with child and an old couple.

A local contractor, Hugh Thompson, witnesses part of the incident and is horrified at Berryman's actions. He decides to report the incident to the authorities at Wollongong.

24 December 1832 - Hugh Thompson arrives in Wollongong and presents a statement to Francis Allman, resident magistrate, accusing Berryman and his party of wilfully murdering a group of Aborigines at Muma Merang.

29 December 1832 - Capt. Allman travels to Muma Merang and obtains a statement from Joseph Berryman, who is subsequently arrested and removed to the Wollongong goal.

2 January 1833 - Francis Allman writes to the Colonial Secretary reporting the incident and enclosing statements. He also asks for further directions.

8 January 1833 - The Governor, Richard Bourke, reads Allman's letter and enclosed statements, and refers the matter to the Attorney General for comment.

29 January 1833 - Captain Alman writes to the Colonial Secretary requesting a reply to his letter of the 2nd.

30 January 1833 - The Governor asks why no reply had been sent to Alman, and orders immediate action.

7 February 1833 - The Berrymen documents are finally sent to the Attorney General.

19 March 1833 - The Attorney General replies to the Colonial Secretary and the Governor, suggesting that Captain Alman obtain more information to verify Thompson's account.

23 March 1833 - The Governor accepts the Attorney General's recommendation.

30 March 1833 - Captain Alman is asked to obtain more information and further statements regarding the incident.

17 April 1833 - Joseph Berrymen is transferred from Wollongong to Penrith.

It seems likely that no further action was taken on this case, after 3 months of dithering by Government and legal officials. Whether Captain Alman returned to Murra Marang to obtain additional interviews is unknown.

The incidents described in the following transcripts occurred near modern-day Mumumanang Point, about 20 kilometres south of Ulladulla. Mumumanang Point and the adjacent Brush Island are presently part of a nature reserve.

On 8 and 9 December 1829, surveyor Robert Hoddle had surveyed 1920 acres for Mr Morris and 2562 acres for Sydney Stephen at Mumumanang. It was upon these properties that the murders occurred.

The following transcripts are of letters and documents in the Archives Office of New South Wales [Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, 4/22042, 'Police - Wollongong 1833', being covering letter 33/110 (plus enclosures)], and are arranged chronologically to aid in comprehension.

#### The Statement of Hugh Thompson

33/125  
Wollongong, District of Illawarra, New South Wales  
To Mr

The Examination of Hugh Thompson, Free by Service, taken upon oath before me Francis Alman Esqr one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for the said Colony, this 24th day of December 1832.

Who saith, that for the last five months he has been working for Sydney Stephen Esqr at his Estate, called the Retreat Farm, Murra Marang County of St Vincent, under a certain contract for Cultivating Tobacco.

That on Monday Morning the 12th inst. he went up to Mr Stephen's Overseer Joseph Berrymen to obtain men to assist him in his labour according to contract, and on his way thither he heard several shots. He enquired of William ... one of the Assigned Servants on the farm what was the

meaning of the gun shots, who replied they were shooting the Blacks. Examinant supposed that the Overseer and his assistants were shooting the Blacks.

Examinant then went to the Overseers House, where he saw the Carpenter Joseph Harris a free man. Examinant asked him were the shots he heard at the Blacks, who replied yes, he believed they were, and gave as a reason that the Blacks had speared a Bullock the night before, belonging to the farm.

When Examinant and this man were talking the Overseer Berrymen and a party of six or eight came up all armed towards the House. When they arrived near the House, two Black Men ran out of the Government Natives Hut, also near the House, and ran away.

Examinant had understood that these two Men Blacks had been kept prisoners in the Hut while the Party went to the Blacks Camp, where Examinant had before heard the firing. But previous to these two Blacks running from the Hut, Berrymen drew up his Party in order between the House and the Hut, and when the said two Blacks ran from the Hut, Berrymen gave the word fire, when the Party fired at the two Blacks, and one of them fell, but Examinant cannot say whether wounded or not, but he got up again and ran, as also did the other towards the Beach a distance of about a quarter of a mile, where they were pursued by the Inng Party, by the orders of Berrymen, altho' he did not accompany them.

The two Blacks ran upon a point of land still pursued by the same Party, and both leaped into the Sea and swam to an island a little distance from the main land. The Party again fired at the said two Blacks when they were swimming in the water, but Examinant does not know that they were wounded. He heard that Inng, but as he did not follow them he did not see the Blacks take the Sea, or the Inng fire at them there, tho' it is in proof by others.

The Inng Party then returned to the House, when two of them "Grimming Jack" the Milkman and "Stockholder Jack", both assigned servants to Mr Stephen, and who had then followed the Inng Party under the orders of Berrymen, and they told Examinant how such Party had pursued the Blacks to the water and fired at them in the water, and of their escape to the Island. Another of the Party was "Cabbage Tree Tom" "Dick" . . . James Roach, and several others. There was also a "Ticket of Leave" man named Michael Goode also in the employ of Mr Stephen along with the Party.

Examinant then went to the Overseer, and said Berrymen have you been shooting the Blacks, who replied yes, I would shoot my Mother this Morning, and said Examinant ought to be dragged thro' the water for interfering in it. Examinant told him to do it at his peril.

Examinant then asked him for men to work and let them be fritted, as after what had passed, he Examinant living a mile and a half from the farm house thought he should not be safe, but subject to the revenge of the Blacks.

The Overseer refused this request, and the Examinant walked down to the Blacks Camp which was on Mr Morris's Estate adjoining to Mr Stephen's, where he saw Three Blacks - two Men, one being very old, and one woman being old - all lying dead from Musket ball wounds and the bodies not corded.

The old man and the old woman were man and wife and called "Mama Mama".

Examinant inspected the bodies, and then went home. He then got dinner and after that two Blacks came and asked him to go with them to assist in burying a Blackwoman who had been shot by Joe, meaning Berrymen the Overseer. He went with them and took with him John McCaugh an assigned servant to Mr Stephen who was with him at the Hut, and they were brought to the body of a Black woman lying at some distance from the Camp, and appeared to be dead from Musket ball wounds.

The Blacks drew off a Blanket which had covered her, and Examinant saw that she had been killed with Musket balls. She was a young woman, and appeared to be large with Child. Examinant and

McQuick buried her and the Blacks were present but did not assist. They were on the watch least they should also be shot and they ran away as soon as she was buried.

[Examiner] then went to Mr Fletcher's House, Overseer to Mr Morris's and asked him what he thought of it, who replied he thought it was bad work, and added that he had sent them thins the night before which the Overseer Berryman had sent for, and said that in consequence of this Outrage (or need to that effect) he should be afraid to live in his own house, and that he would not take £100 to live there in the hut where [Examiner] resided.

The Dairyma[n] a Servant of Mr Morris's, name unknown to Examiner, was there present and said he saw Berryman pull the old woman [Mama Mama] out of the hut to be shot, saying the damned old whore, she could eat a fat Bullock fit as another. This was the old woman [Examiner] had seen lying dead at the Blacks Camp.

Signed H Thompson

Sworn before me this twenty fourth day of December 1832

Signed F Allman J P,  
Resident Magistrate

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The Statement of Joseph Berryman

33/12529th Decbr 1832

Statement made by Joseph Berryman overseer to Sydney Stephen Esq at his Farm at Murry Merring County of St Vincent New South Wales relative to the unfortunate occurrence which took place on the said Farm and on Mr Morris's farm adjoining on the 15th instant December 1832, in a rencontre between him and a party of Mr Stephen's Assigned Servants and a party of Native Blacks.

In Begs. last on mustering the Cattle he found three shot, & as he supposed the three to be a Cow, & two Heifers, he then spoke to three Blacks, one of them named "Working Man Tommy" to go with his men to search for them, to which they agreed, and he fed them provisions to their starting, but when so fed they went off instead of going with the men to search, and Tommy told a Black Girl who always lived on the Farm & was supported by Berryman, that the others Blacks had killed the three missing Cattle at a place called Duma.

Note - Berryman previous to this transaction had never any quarrel with the Blacks but always endeavoured to keep on good terms with them.

Berryman then turned out his Herd, again & again collecting them, repeating this twice in hopes the strays might join them, but they did not.

The whole tribe of Blacks had then quitted the neighbourhood altogether but returned in Oct (next month) and encamped on Mr Morris's farm adjoining, and afterwards upon Mr Stephens farm, but Berryman never saw the Black "Working Man Tommy" afterwards.

The Blacks continued as usual to do pds for the men on the farm and some of them employed by Berryman in grinding &c until about the 4th Decr. when they returned to Mr Morris's farm again, but this did not escape any notice in Berryman as they often move about, and they did not go in consequence of any anger, or misunderstanding, they came backwards & forwards until I found (the detail is here changed to the first person) that a Cow was dangerously wounded. This was on the 10th Decr. it was a milking Cow & the anguish stopped her milk. The wound had every appearance of being made by a Jagg spear.

I did not mention this to the Blacks but on the 17th Decr. Jackey Lowder (a Black who had great authority in the tribe and in whom I put great confidence and with whom I always endeavoured to keep good terms) came to my late in the evening (about 10 o'clock) and informed me as a secret that the Blacks had killed the three Beasts before messed and had that day speared a Working Bullock (The shaft Bullock of great value being the only one I had which could shaft on our roads & ploughs) and that he would come the next morning and assist me to search for it, as after it was wounded it had run away, he also informed me that it was they who had killed some Pigs which I had mess'd some time before and about which time some Pig bones had been found in some of their Bags.

The circumstance of Jackey Lowder coming so late at night, I knowing their averseness to be out after dark, and having heard that there had been some unpleasant quarrels between them and the whites before I came to the Farm. I became apprehensive of some violence on their part, and I deemed it prudent to guard as well as I could, against the worst, & being unprovided with any arms which were effective I sent that same night to Mr Morris to borrow two gun flints, which were sent to me, and I prepared two muskets for defence.

I continued in much alarm, & uneasiness of mind all night, and the next morning I went to Meeks Goode a Tinker of Levee, who worked on the farm, to go with me to ascertain if the information I had received was correct, and we went and found that Shan Bullock which was in very good condition, with about 3 or 10 inches of spagg in the thick part of his thigh; we took him to the yard, threw him & with great difficulty drew it out with a Hand vice, & dressed the wound.

There were no Blacks on the farm then. I then took Goode and Thomas Sparks, Abram Weddick, and Richd Neatoh, three assigned servants to my master each armed with a musket, but two of them useless for firing. We went to the camp on Mr Morris's farm and found a many Blacks there. I put my piece upl a Tree and made the men stand back. I went towards myself and asked for Jackey Lowder, they said he was not in the camp. I sent Weddick with a Black man to look for him.

After they were gone a few minutes I saw two Black men each gip his spear (making it ready for throwing). I slipped back to regain my musket, and in stepping back, one of the spears was thrown, and stuck in the ground alongside me, the other struck the tree & glanced from me, or it wod. have struck me.

When I recovered my musket I saw a many Blacks shpping their spears & preparing to approach me. I being much alarmed fired my piece, but not with any intention of injuring them. Goode and the other men were then at some distance from me (might be about 15 yards) but as soon as I had fired, I heard them all discharge their pieces.

There had not been any previous agreement betw. me and them as to firing, but I supposed they considered both me & themselves in the greatest danger. I ran into some bushes and reloaded my piece, and being much agitated, as I again moved towards my men the trigger of my piece was caught, & it went off by accident, and whether it did any injury or not I don't know, but the Black then quickly fled.

I found a bundle of spears which I broke. I then joined my men, and without going further into the camp we went home, when I arrived there I found Jackey Lowder in the Govt. Hut. I asked him to come up to my place, as I wished him. He said he would. I then went towards my own House, and soon as I got there, I heard a shot in the direction of the Govt. Hut. I thought Lowder was following me. I ran out and saw him running over the Hill, towards the sea Beach. I asked the meaning of it from the men who told me that as Lowder had run awry instead of coming to me, the shot was fired to bring him back.

I only saw this one Black there and he continued to run until out of my sight. I believe two of the men followed him being anxious to get hold of him, that I might extract from him the information which I wanted. They said, and told me that he had got clean away.

The Camp was about a mile from my place, and that day I was informed that two men and one woman Black were found dead there. I sent two men to see if that was the fact, and it so to bury

them, but if any Black fellows wanted to see them or take them away to let them by all means. They informed me they buried the three bodies.

When I went to Mr Stephen's farm I found it in an unprovided state, and heard that cattle had been destroyed belonging to Mr Morris, and that once his Magistrate had gone out with his men after the Blacks & had fired upon them.

I always endeavoured to keep upon good terms with the Blacks, and submitted to many little bits of aggression, rather than quarrel with them- I had my master's property to protect, and when at length this repeated acts of violence on their part I was induced to take out the men armed with a view to get hold of Jackey Lawler, for the purpose of causing him to inform me of the aggressors. and I was compelled to fire in my own defence. It was then only done to frighten them, and not with any intention of taking life.

These are the facts of my case, and I was going to Sydney to lay the whole before my Master.

Captain Alman Reports the Massacre

33/1255-January 1833

Wollongong 2d January, 1833

To The Honble  
The Colonial Secretary

Sir

In consequence of having heard that some Aborigines had been shot by a party of Government Men and others under the direction of an individual named John Berryman T L Overseer to Sydney Stephen Esq; at St Vincents, I lost no time in taking the examinations of one of the most intelligent of the men employed on Mr Stephen's estate at the time, and herewith beg to enclose it for the guidance of H M Attorney General.

I have in consequence of Hugh Thompson's information, taken Berryman into Custody, whose statement of the case I also beg to transmit, from what I can learn of Berryman's general character and the terms he always lived on with the Natives, I cannot think that he mediated such consequences as unfortunately happened, on going to the Blacks Camp. I am of opinion that when the Blacks threw their Spears at him he got alarmed and with a view of intimidating them and protecting himself, fired, the other men being at a distance, magnified the danger and without waiting for any directions from Berryman fired instantly; unfortunately with too much effect.

Should it be deemed proper for the ends of Justice to put Berryman on his trial I shall immediately on receipt of such information transmit him to Sydney Goal, and in the interim shall collect every information I can obtain on the subject.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your Most Obedient Servt

Francis Alman J P

Resident Magistrate

Comment by Governor Bourke

33/1255-January 1833

The Police Magistrate, Wollongong, transmits statements relative to the shooting of two Native Women and one Man by the Overseer and Servants of Mr Sydney Stephen.

For information and reference to the Attorney General - If Thompson is to be believed, there can be no doubt of Berryman & others having been guilty of murder. But as the Native doubtless did slaughter cattle, this may be a case showing the inequity of making a law which, by "prescribing a remedy for such acts, deprives Europeans of all excuse for inflicting punishment with their own hands.

#### The Governor's decision

Returned to the Attorney General.

See 33/347

Why has this not been done

33/347 is no answer. Let it be sent quickly

Atty. Gen. to report

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29 January 1833: Francis Allman writes to the Colonial Secretary seeking information on what is to be done with Joseph Berryman.

Police Office  
Wollongong  
29 January 1833

Sir

I have the honor to call your attention to my letter of the 2d January respecting the Case of Joseph Berryman, confined in the Lock up house on a charge of Shooting certain aborigines. Wherein I requested the opinion of H M. Attorney General which has not been received.

The place of confinement here being I conceive unsafe for the safe keeping of a person placed in his situation, and as I am inclined to think that H M. Attorney General will not proceed with the charge, may request your instructions, either as to having Berryman released or his being forwarded to the goal of Sydney.

I have the honor to be  
Sir  
Your very Ob. Servt  
F. Allman J P  
Resident Magistrate

[Unlocked comment by Governor Bourke]

It not already done refer to the Attorney General, as directed on 30/1/33. This ought not to have been delayed. Immediate.

Mr Knott 7 Feb 33

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### Recommendations of The Attorney General

20 March 1830 The Attorney General finally replies to the Governor's request for recommendations as to action to be taken against Berryman and his associates.

23/21st 1830 March 1830

Attorney General's Office  
19th March 1830

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 7th ultimo, transmitting to me a Letter from the Resident Magistrate at Wollongong, enclosing statements relative to the shooting of two Native Women and one Man in St. Vincent's, by John Berryman the Overseer, and other Servants of Mr Sydney Stephen, and by the direction of His Excellency the Governor requesting I would state my opinion on the proceedings proper to be taken in the above Case, as Berryman is in confinement at Wollongong pending my report.

In reply I have the honor to state for the information of His Excellency, that if the Deposition of Hugh Thompson (which differs so materially from the statement made by Berryman) is to be believed, the conduct of Berryman was so highly criminal, that I conceive he ought to be made answerable for his conduct, for however true his statement may be as to his flight and alarm, when he advanced alone to the Blacks Camp, which might induce him to fire off his Musket, yet if the statement of Thompson be true, that on Berryman's return to his Huts, he drew up his Men and when the Blacks ran from the Huts directed the Men to fire at them, such an act shows such a wanton disregard for the lives of the unfortunate Blacks, as to lead to an opinion that his attack on the Blacks in their Camp, was equally unmerciful.

I have been informed by Mr Stephen Sydney that Thompson is somewhat deranged, and that therefore his evidence is not to be relied on. The Magistrate however can form a correct judgement as to the state of Thompson's mind, and from some of the other parties, I conceive, information might be got, that would enable him to form an opinion as to the probable truth of either of the statements.

Thompson has also maintained that Mr Morris's Overseer informed him that he saw Berryman pull the old woman out of the Hut to be shot, this man should be found out and examined, and if he will support the statement of Thompson's, there can be no reliance on the statement of Berryman. If however it shall appear in evidence, that the Blacks threw their Lances at Berryman before a shot was fired, it would be a question whether the shots were not fired in self defence, in which case the verdict of a jury would be Justifiable Homicide, and the Passer would be acquitted, therefore before I can decide whether Berryman should be brought to Trial, I would request that the Magistrate will make the further enquiry that I have above suggested, and further that he will report his opinion as to Thompson's state of mind.

I have the honor to be,

Sir

Your most obedient servant  
John Kinchella

23 March 1830. The Attorney General's reply reaches the Governor, who agrees with it and returns the matter back to Allman for further action

23/21st 1830 March 20

The Attorney General recommends, in the case of the Natives shot by the Servants of Mr Sydney Stephen, that the Magistrate be instructed to ascertain further particulars, as specified.

Copy to be sent to Capt. Alman accordingly.

[The subsequent action of Captain Alman is unknown, however according to Joseph Berryman's *Book of Laws*, in late April 1823 he was transferred to Parram from Wollongong, and appears to have escaped any trial over his actions. In all probability the matter was dropped.]

The foregoing letters and documents show that it was commonly held - from Governor Bourke down to the convicts - that such extreme action was acceptable in defence of the property of the white settlers.

With no real prosecution - the family and friends of the slain Aborigines had no recourse, and the claimants of Hugh Thomson was questioned - Berryman's acquittal was assured.

Hugh Thomson would have to have been a brave man to pursue a murder charge against a fellow European in such circumstances. It was ultimately up to the Governor and his administration (including the Attorney General) to protect the Aborigines. In this instance they failed in that duty, and it was not until the famous Myall Creek massacre of 1838 that they pursued the rights of Aborigines in a court of law to the fullest extent.

The circumstances of the Murramurang massacre were repeated numerous times throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was the exception for their details to be reported officially, and so fully.]

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## Blankets and Alexander Berry's Reminiscences

### 1833 - 1842

The years 1833-42 are some of the richest, historically, in our study of the Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, for during this period the first census information of the local Aborigines was compiled in connection with the issue of blankets. They revealed a great deal of personal information on the native population.

The majority of the extant blanket issue forms, from the Archives Office of New South Wales Colonial Secretary Letters, record the following information with respect to individual Aborigines, namely:

English name  
Native name  
Age  
Number of wives and children  
Place of residence or resort  
Designation of tribe

Though blankets had been issued earlier, it is only from 1833 that returns have survived for the Illawarra and South Coast people. With such detailed information many of the Aborigines mentioned in historical accounts are brought to life for the first time. The family history value of this material is also significant, as Aborigines were not again included in Australian census until the 1960s. The Aborigines Protection Board lists of 1862-1960s merely indicated numbers, not individual names.

This period also saw the issue of a significant collection of reminiscences on the Aborigines of Shoalhaven, by Alexander Berry.

### 1833

#### Shooting at Minnamurra

22 May 1830: (Archibald Campbell Papers, 4.1) Notes re shooting of some Aborigines at Minnamurra, extracted from official records which no longer survive.

Two blacks found dead, after some shooting at Minnamurra - supposed to have speared a bullock night before - shots ...

## Blankets for South Coast Aborigines

12 August 1833: Captain Allman, magistrate at Wollongong, writes to the Colonial Secretary re a parcel of blankets for Aborigines at Illawarra which had erroneously been sent to Mr Elvards (Tal-Ulladulla). They were subsequently removed by Constable Edward Conigan [ACNSW, 4/66663/3, 33/5253]

## Return of Nullandarie Aborigines

8 October 1833: Return of Aborigines at Nullandarie, St Vincent [ACNSW, 4/66663/3], the property of Francis Flanagan near Moruya.

## Return of Aboriginal Natives at ... on ... 1833

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	No Children of M wives	No Children of F	Place of District of usual abode
1	Warrinda	Warrinda	30	1	1	Burrago
2	Show-ball	Muthar	33	2	1	Knowt
3	Peter	Callumboo	35	2	1	do
4	Jeremy	Abba	29			do
5	Jeremy Bawith	Bawith	40	3	2	do
6	Paddy	Wambut	35	1		Browley
7	Charley	Thunwood	35	1	1	do
8	Dickey	Koval	18			do
9	Joe	Alweenigal	29			do
10	Tommy	Biddinequil	30	1	1	do
11	Browley Dickey	Muddibogall	16			do
12	Paddy	Thaboorra	15			do
13	Jerry	Boogal	35	1		do
14	Jackey	Gumboo-a	20			do
15	Thunama	Thunama	60	2	3	River
16	Billy	Jugnoo	25	1		Moombaya
17	Burniel	Burniel	18			do
18	Lazy Sandy	Korberly	35	1	1	do
19	Cobberbull	Yongooosu	35	1		do
20	Joey	Burungata	18			Mullandaru
21	Warrinda Tommy	Moothooga	20			do
22	Jack	Kovari	30	1	1	Arrikoon
23	Big Sandy	Allumoo	35	1	2	Wagungo
24	Jeremy Bagan	Kooma	30	1		Kanery
25	Pretty Dickey	Minemina	20			Burrah

Nullandarie, St Vincent  
8th Octb 1833

[All are designated as belonging to the 'Burrago' tribe]

1833: Assistant Surveyor Elliott records the following Aboriginal place names on his 'Plan of Road through the District of Illawarra' (after W G McDonald *The Olden Road*, 1978, p 21):

- \* Balmacil
- \* Tawradgees

### Campbelltown and Cowpasture Aborigines

[1833] List of Aboriginal males who received blankets at Campbelltown and Cowpastures (Liston, sp. off., p 23)

Name	Age
Budbury	45
Dash	40
Bundal	30
Dunyah	20
Welsh	40
Kuryong	30
Jacky	
Caro	
Bondal	
Nanogen	

### Summary of Blankets Issued to Aborigines

1833- Tabular extract from the summary of blankets issued to Aborigines in New South Wales during 1832 and 1833 (AONSWR, 4/6666B.2)

#### Blankets for the Aborigines

	1832	1833
South and South Western District		
Mr Morris	50	
Mr James Irkay	-	25
Mr Flanagan	-	25
Mr Ryde	25	
Geobum Plains	25	50
Imreary	25	
Lumley	-	25
Berrima	40	40
Hume District		
Burnsberry	15	15
Stonegarry	15	10
Wollongong	30	35
Campbelltown	5	5

### The Paulsgrove Diary

June - September 1833: The Paulsgrove Diary (W G McDonald, (edtor), Bowrav Historical Society, Wollongong, 1982) kept by a free farm worker at J S Speare's Paulsgrove estate near Wollongong, mentions early contacts with local Aborigines and their use as farm labourers

Tuesday 18 June: The blacks came to husk the corn.

Wednesday 19 June: Blacks husking corn.

Thursday 11 July: Timothy the black shooting for Mr M Speaking.

Wednesday 24 July: Blacks picking potatoes etc.

Friday 16 August: Went with Mr Speaking and Jemalong to the five Islands for some black swan's eggs.

Saturday 17 August: Jemalong brought the black swan's eggs.

Saturday 28 September: Killed a cow. Murphy brought some mustard plants and gigantic onions and told us of the death of old Timboone who died from the bite of a black snake.

[According to the Return of Aboriginal Natives at Wollongong (see under 21 May 1834 below) 'Timothy' and 'Jemalong' could refer to the Aboriginal 'Tommy', native name 'Urmengong'; whilst 'old Timboone' was obviously 'Timboone', aged ca 50 years old.]

## 1834

### The Paulsgrove Diary

March - April 1834: Paulsgrove Diary (op cit.) mentions contact with local Aborigines.

Sunday 18 March: Philip the black brought Mr Marcus some birds sent Philip to get some for myself.

Sunday 6 April: Timboone brought me three pheasant tails from Philip.

[According to the Return of Aboriginal Natives at Wollongong (see under 21 May 1834) 'Philip' was the native 'Woodalong', aged 30 years. It appears that Timboone had survived the snake bite.]

### Search for a Missing Mailman

11 April 1834: (Australian) Report on the search for the Campbelltown - Wollongong mailman, Don Sullivan, who was drowned on 31 March whilst attempting to cross a swollen creek on the road to Wollongong. Mr Brown, the contractor

...despatched both blacks and Europeans to the mountain to search for the unfortunate postman, and the men, and after two days search, the body was found in a deep hole, a distance from where he had attempted to cross, but the mail has not yet been discovered...

## Aborigines at Moormooring

28 April 1834. Request for blankets for the Aborigines at Moormooring (AONSW, 4666683.3)

Moormooring 28th April 1834

Sir

I have the honor to request that, as the Winter is fast approaching, his Excellency will not forget the poor Aborigines with his usual donation of Blankets to this neighbourhood which I believe one of the most populous. I should not have taken the liberty of writing on this subject but that there is a vessel coming to Ulladulla soon, which would bring those intended for the Blacks here and also those for Mr Thompson of Batemans Bay. If sent to Mr Blakely of York Street he would forward them to me.

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your most obt Servt  
W.T Morris

## Blankets for Illawarra Aborigines

28 May 1834. Letter from the resident Magistrate at Wollongong re blankets issued to local Aborigines (AONSW, 4666683.3, 34/3831)

Police Office, Wollongong  
28th May 1834

Sir

In accordance with your Circular of date 18th April last I have the honor to state that the forty Blankets intended for distribution to the Black Natives were received at this station on the 12th inst. and distributed according to the instructions therein ordered.

I beg to enclose a list of the Wollongong Tribe as also a receipt for the forty Blankets.

I have the honor to be Sir  
Your most obt Servt  
W.N. GrayTo the Honble  
The Colonial Secretary  
Sydney

Resct Magst

28 May 1834. Receipt for 40 blankets received at Wollongong for distribution to local Aborigines (AONSW, 4666683.3, p 97)

Police Office, Wollongong  
28th May 1834

I do hereby acknowledge to have received the undermentioned number of Blankets for distribution to the Black Natives.

40. forty Blankets  
W.N. Gray  
Resct Magst

## Return of Illawarra Aborigines

21 May 1834: Return of Aborigines at Wollongong who received blankets (ACNSW, 4/65568 3, pp.37, 37a)

This is the earliest extant listing of the Aborigines of central Illawarra, compiled in association with the issue of blankets by the Colonial administration.

During 1834 a total of 78 Aborigines received blankets, a relatively small number for such a large region. Unfortunately we have no idea of the numbers of Aborigines at Illawarra in 1799, prior to the arrival of whitemen, and cannot determine the degree to which their numbers were reduced, or if they were always small in number. Not all Aborigines living in the district received blankets, either through choice or circumstances, and the number is therefore usually low.

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Wollongong on 21st May 1834

No.	English Name &	Native Names	Prob Age	No	Child of M wives	F	Tribe
1	Bundle Star	Woolmarray	40	1		1	
2	Bundle June	Tarmamang	30	1			
3	Timberry	Timberry	30	1			
4	Frying pan	Woomahal	30	1			
5	Doctor	Tamang	20	1			
6	Brayton	Yagah	45	1			
7	Nangie	Nangie	45	1	1		
8	Philip	Moodalong	30	1			
9	Charley	Gla-roone	30	1			
10	Billy Hookah	Berryware	20	1			
11	Tommy	Jamrangong	20	1	1		
12	Poss	Matongal	20	1			
13	Joee	Tumnick	10				
14	Chi Tat	Chi Tat	25	1		1	
15	Willie Darby	Notangle	25	1			
16	Tommy	Noonlight	20	1			
17	Dallo	Dallo	40				
18	Conalang	Conalang	40	1	2		
19	Johnnie	Bungalow	25				
20	William	Wollongow	30				
21	Warbing	Warbing	30				
22	Talboy	Colongow	30		1		
23	Tom	Colbury	30		1		
24	Dalboy	Dalboy	30		2		
25	Tommy	Wochet	20		1		
26	Lucky Jack	Carriano	40		1		
27	Bill	Mauzel	42		1		
28	Parra	Parra	30		1		
29	Soloman	Poorn	20				
30	Barrack	Barrack	30		1		
31	Munnah	Munnah	20				
32	Jack	Manges	20		2		
33	Paddy	Gordy	35	2	1	1	
34	River Jim	River Jim	30	1	1		

35	Capt Brooks	Murrumb	50
36	Paddy	Rumquading	19
37	Paddy	Kibarka	18
38	Fisherman	Colomball	14

W H Gray  
Reed Magal

Summary	Men	30
	Women	31
	Boys	6
	Girls	3
Total		76

(A final column not included in the above table was titled 'Place or District of Usual Resort', however all entries were given as 'Wollongong', though evidence suggests the Aborigines were dispersed throughout the region - see also 1837 Return)

#### Return of Campbelltown Aborigines

24 May 1834: Return of Aborigines at Campbelltown who received a blanket (ACNSW, 4/66688 3)

#### Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Campbelltown on 24th May 1834

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	Number of wives	Child M F	Tribe
1	Jackie Jackie	Jack Wollongong	30	3	- -	Bungarung

Residential Narration

#### Return of Aborigines at Shoalhaven

4 June 1834: 'Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven', with covering letter by Alexander Berry (ACNSW, 4/66688 3, 34/4446). Of 160 Aborigines in the district, 60 only received blankets.

Sydney 11th July 1834

Sir

I have the honor to enclose you two Lists received from Shoal Haven

No 1 contains a general List of the Natives of that District

No 2 a List of the natives to whom the Sixty blankets sent by the Government were distributed

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your mo. obd Servt

Alex. Berry

Honble A Macleay Esqr

No. 1

Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at  
Shoal Haven on 4th June 1824

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	No. Child of M Wives.	F	Tribes
1	John	Bogano	30	2		
2	Wagan	Wajan	50	1		
3	Cabone Mick	Noorson	30	1		
4	Greedy Boy	Tooning	25	1		
5	Sam	Topkenboy	25	1	1	
6	Jack Waterman	Wionoweara	25			
7	Monkey	Michael	12			
8	Jack	Boolan	30			
9	Needy	Moo-ka	25			
10	Calbone Jack	Yenflet	31	1		
11	Good Good	Good Good	40	2		
12	Charcoal	Charcoal	25	1		
13	Coorah Boy	Corribby	45			
14	Jack	Coombung	50	1	1	
15	Mary	Mawson	25			
16	Paddy	Greemuuwall	18			
17	Kennedy	Cocowans	20			
18	Chatley	Yenflet	21	1		
19	Tommy Settler	Poutalo	30	2		
20	Joe	Bumalyar	38	1	2	
21	Emelie	Emelie	40	1	2	
22	Biddy	Jewenburg	20	1		
1	Long Charcoal	Long Charcoal	35	1	3	
2	Friday	Burnagada	50	1		Numba
3	Greenwell	Bengungong	40	1		
4	Peekey Corn	Salma	31	1		
5	Blackey Smith	Boother	50	1		
6	Charley Goodnight	Atieg	30	1	1	
7	Dr Wentworth	Tulking	21			
8	Bobkino	Bobkino	30	1		
9	Jerry	Bullnung	45			
10	Joe the Sailor	Joe the Sailor	40	2	2	
11	Bobkino	Paramar	32	1	1	
12	Jim Charcoal	Numberry	31	1		
1	Broughton	Boedwick	36	2		
2	Barn	Coombecoo	22	1		Broughtons Creek
3	Derby Black	Yockin	40	1		
4	Armor	Sandy-goow	50	1		
5	Lott	Curmar	19			
6	Jackey	Undengung	21			
7	Tyke	Tooning	22			
8	Dick	Butting	33	1		
9	Charley	Tynka	35	1		
10	Gandy Gandy	Gandy Gandy	30			

(All the above were designated as resident at Shoal Haven)

1	Carroll	Chauvol	20	1	2		Genengong
2	Billy	Booth	22	1	1	1	
3	Jack Rirling	Tommette	20				
4	Billy Robert	Gumilane	22				
5	Charley	Water Water	20	1			

[The above Genengong tribe were designated as resident at Blackheath]

1	Joe	Nunjaroo	20	1		Woregy
2	Dunn	Mal-gully	27	1	1	
3	Peter	Wintale	20	1		
4	Nelson	Namun-gully	24			
5	Jim Cotton	Elli	20			
6	Tom Bailey	Mooloosloo	25	1		
7	Dick	Woolowra	30	1	1	
8	Joe	Cool oom bin	31	1	1	
9	Dick	Jangright	27			
10	Johny	Boorai ming	22			
11	Sam	Numbigal	19			
12	Paddy	Paddygong	50	2		
13	Paddy-Bluet	Bluet	50	1	1	2
14	Joe	Jambajung	46			
15	Neddy	Dareng	26			
16	Jackey	Hammet	20			

[The above Woregy tribe were designated as resident at St. Vincent]

1	Sam	Condubhilla	25		Murroo
2	Davey	Boosh	25		
3	Jerry	Coolwarrat	45	1	2
4	Abraham	Tulgewille	28		
5	Sam-Fisherman	Mumba	20	1	2
6	Davy	Termitella	50		
7	Jeremy	Muck	21		
8	Jim	Wha galung	16		
9	Sam	Mirwan	36		
10	Mingo	Wana	25		
11	Tommy	Minus	40	1	3
12	Sam	Yarry	50		

[The above Murroo tribe were designated as resident at Murroo]

#### Recapitulation

Designation of Tribe	Men	Wives	Children		Total
			Male	Female	
Shoal Haven	22	14	10	7	7
Numba	12	11	7	3	3
Broughton Creek	10	7	1	3	3
Genengong	5	3	2	1	1
Woregy	10	8	3	2	2
Murroo	12	3	7	1	1
	77	46	30	17	170

Chas. J. Campbell  
Supt.

## No. 2

Return of Blankets issued to Aboriginal Natives  
at Shoal Haven on 4th June 1934.

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	No of wives	Child	Tribe
					M	
1	John	Bogano	30	2		
2	Wayn	Wijin	30	1		
3	Cobborn Mick	Nafoon	30	1		
4	Gaudy Boy	Towrong	25	1		
5	Sam	Tokkenboy	28	1	1	
6	Waterman Jack	Wochawinta	28			
7	Monkey	Michael	12			
8	Jack	Babin	28		1	
9	Neddy	Noonah	25			
10	Cobborn Jack	Yanjil	21	1		
11	Good Good	Good Good	40	2	2	1
12	Charcoal	Jim Char Coal	28	1		
13	Cooooth Boy	Coooa boy	30		1	2
14	Jack	Coombung	45	1		1
15	Mary	Mewoona	22			
16	Tommy Settler	Mastic	18	2		
17	Joe	Bernage	20	1	2	1
18	Emelie	Emelie	21	1		2
19	Buddy	Jambung	28		1	
20	Long Charcoal	Long Charcoal	35	1	2	
21	Friday	Bungbung	40	1		
22	Greenwell	Bawangada	28			
23	Peckoy Com	Jalmah	51	1		
24	Blissery Smith	Boother	30	1		
25	Charley Goodnight	Arbig	30	1	1	2
26	Dr Wentworth	Tuckling	21			
27	Boddano	Boddano	30	1		
28	Jerry	Bullung	40			
29	Joe the Sailor	Joe the Sailor	40	2	2	
30	Cobborn	Parawer	32	1	1	
31	Broughton	Tooder	32	2		
32	Sam	Coombando	22	1		
33	Daisy Brook	Yackin	40	1	1	
34	Ammer	Sandgong	20	1		
35	Lien	Carmen	19			
36	Jackley	Undeung	21			
37	Tyree	Turing	22			
38	Dick	Butong	18	1		
39	Charley	Tindla	18	1		
40	Gundy Gundy	Gundy Gundy	20			

[All the above were designated as resident at Shoal Haven]

41	Carroll	Carroll	28	1	2	Gerongong
42	Billy	Boona	22	1		
43	Jack Rating	Tanamille	20			
44	Billy Robert	Jansulito	22			
45	Charley	Wator Water Charley	20	1		

[The above Garigong tribe were designated as resident at Blackhead]

46	Joe	Nunparrow	26	1	Worogy
47	Dunn	Maguly	27	1	
48	Peter	Wotalo			
		Medabath	28	1	1
49	Nelson	Newungally	24		
50	Joe Cotton	Eli	26		
51	Dick	Jungright	25	1	
52	Tom Bally	Mooloolooso	31		

[The above Worogy tribe were designated as resident at St Vincent]

53	Sam	Condewhoo	23		Munoo
54	Darvy	Boorah	25		
55	Sam Fatherman	Nann	39	1	2
56	Jeremy	Neelue	21		
57	Sam	Matwar	16		
58	Muga	Muga	49	1	3

[The above Munoo tribe were designated as resident at Munoo]

Chas. J Campbell  
Supt

[A total of 86 blankets were issued, with two to Broughton]

#### THEFT OF BLANKETS FOR ABORIGINES AT MUNOO

12 July 1834: Francis Flanagan to the Colonial Secretary re request for more blankets for the Aborigines at Munoo (ACNSW, 466668/3, 34/4837).

Mylenderie, St Vincent  
12th July 1834

Honble. Alexr. McLeay  
Colonial Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Circular of the 18th April last, and a file, which arrived this day, containing Twelve double, or Twenty-four single, Blankets to be distributed amongst the Blacks, and not Thirty as stated in your Circular.

My agent, Mr Galway of the Company Packet Office Sydney, writes me that one of the two Boxes deposited with him to be forwarded hither was stolen, consequently, only one Box arrived here, and the label being torn off in its way, and not knowing therefore, whether it was for me or for Mr Hunt, (who has also received a Circular stating that Thirty Blankets would be sent to him) I have divided the contents with that Gentleman, consequently, we have only Six double or Twelve single, Blankets each for distribution.

I have the honor to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient  
Humble Servt  
F. Flanagan

(Attached comment by Alick McLarty.

The Bale de l'orient is that respecting which Mr Galloway was written to. He has replied, I believe, but I have not seen his letter.

The other Bale should have contained 30 Blankets - & no doubt did when sent from hence. But I am aware of no means of making the Persons answerable in such cases. The vessel taking Mr Flanagan's own Stores was considered the best conveyance for sending the Blankets.

Blankets for the Aborigines at Lumsley

14 August 1834: Return of blankets issued to the Aborigines of the Lumsley area (ACNSW, A/66083 3, 34/7031).

Lumsley Argyle  
14th August 1834

The Honble.  
The Colonial Secretary

Sir

Referring to your letter dated 18th of April last regarding the Annual issue of Blankets to the Aboriginal Blacks of this district, I do myself the honor to inform you that owing to the usually long absence of those people from this part of the country up to the 7th instant, no opportunity was afforded me of distributing the Blankets to them, which has now been done as far as practicable in conformity with the instructions in your letter.

Fourteen Blankets were given to the men and seven to the women.

A nominal list of the Tribe is herewith enclosed.

I have the honor to be  
Sir  
Your most Obedt Servt  
Robt Fulton J.P.

Return of Aboriginal Natives, taken at Lumsley on 7th August 1834

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	Number of M wives	Child F
----	---------------	--------------	----------	-------------------	---------

Males

1	Chief of the Tribe	Cue	54	1	1
2	Timothy	Bumawan	27	2	
3	Tommy	Mind	22	1	
4	Jacky	Konanda	40		
5	Tom Deth	Tomei	45	2	
6	Tommy	Cote	34	1	
7	Jacky	Mergual	45	2	1
8	Mr Tom	Ment	32	1	

9	Jacky	Comup murna	18	1
10	Nibble it	Gambannah	22	
11	Joe	Nudda	21	1
12	Neddy	Bungall	22	1
13	Brabury	Comuck nomah	12	
14	Johnny Que	Nomewbilli	29	

## Females

15	Susan	Geanan
16	Buddy	Wbinagang
17	Kitty	Jowtan
18	Kitty	Ganganessa
19	Maria	Gonaru
20	Jenny	Barbaree
21	Jeans	Iugin
22		Nambandy
23	Margaret	
24		Numuck Mull
25	Mary	Bamangulli

Robt. Fisher J.P.

[All are designated as belonging to the 'Paramatago' and 'Gundom' tribes, and also resident at those localities]

## Aborigines at Nullandarie

September 1834 Return of Aborigines at Nullandarie, St Vincent, near Moruya (AONSW, 4/66666 3)

## Return of Aboriginal Natives at Mr Flanagan's Estabt., Nullandarie, St. Vincent on Sept. 1834

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	Number of wives	Child M	Child F	Place or District of Usual Abode
1	Thunema	Thunema	60	2	3	4	
2	Billy	Jugas	25	1	1		
3	Scunel	Scunel	20				
4	Boolby	Boolby	35				
5	Billymoke	Billymoke	25				
6	Cobanbul	Cobanbul	50	1			
7	Lazy Sandy	Cloopen	60	1		1	
8	Tommy	Mootbooga	25				
9	Joey	Burlungala	20				
10	Paddy	Wambut	30	1			
11	Jerry	Puckull	40	1		1	Browley Boat Harbour
12	Jack	Koomboca	18				
13	Koondums	Koondums	60			4	
14	Joey	Alloongal	25	1	1		
15	Karl	Karl	60	1		2	
16	Dickily	Coowal	25				
17	Paddy	Tobarn	15				
18	Billy	Bouugal	12				

19	Woblong	Woblong	28				
20	Cabbage garden	Koorindari	30				
21	Hughy	Burringa	40	1	2		
22	Warrinda	Warrinda	60	1	1	1	Burgugo
23	Budgerowal	Budgerowal	50	1			
24	Old Man	Barguru	65	1	1		
25	Jeremy	Alba	35	1			

## Aborigines at Batemans Bay

25 November 1834. Walter Thomson to the Colonial Secretary re blankets for the Aborigines at Batemans Bay [ACNSW, 4600000 3 34/8931]

Batemans Bay 25 Novr 1834

Sir

I have the honor to transmit to you a list of the Black Natives, who I have distributed Blankets to. The number of Blankets I received from the Government were thirty. & you will observe by the list enclosed that these is only the Names of twenty three of the Blacks given, but among these were several old people, with families, who suffer much more from the inclemency of the weather, than those single men who are not so much advanced in years. I thought it expedient therefore to give the very old people double Blankets each, which accounts for the number sent to me.

To the Honourable  
Alex McLachy Esq  
Colonial Secretary  
&c &c &c

I have the honor to be  
Sir,  
Your most obt Servt  
Walter Thomson

## Return of Aboriginal Natives, taken at Bookenburr on 12 July 1834

No	English Names	Native Names
1	Jackey	Jenengah
2	Hughy	Rennerga
3	Beauty	Troodigal
4	Jackey	Kanama
5	Bold Rodney	Ausgga
6	Wazina	Wandra
7	Tom Ugly	Kallarama
8	Milking Dick	Ballora
9	Tom	Moondia
10	Didkey	Koodaroo
11	Tom	Molberong
12	Tom Brien	Kalgra
13	Mr Daly	Hoodooruga
14	Bobby	Kagark
15	Nerring Billy	Yanabla
16	James	Bunnen
17	Nerang Bobby	Woolelly
18	Jerry	Buggal
19	Stupid Jamie	Mooch
20	Timothy	Pinalasama
21	Mullala	Mullala

22 Umbugga  
23 Blind Mary Umbugga  
Roscooball

Walter Thomson

**Summary of Blankets to be issued**

[1834] Summary return of blankets to be issued to Aborigines of Hawaia and along the south coast [ACNSW, 466669.3]

**List of Native to which Blankets are to be forwarded for distribution in 1834**

South and South Western district

Mr Thompson's station	Bateman's Bay	30
Mr Hunt's ditto	ditto	30
Mr Flanagan's ditto	ditto	30
Mr Morris's ditto	ditto	20
Ulladulla		40
Mr W. Laren's station		15
Mr Rymer's station	Shearwater River	30
Branch of Megamahos	Sixtyfouth	30
Major Broughton	St Vincent	30
Goulburn Plains		40
Inverarity		25
Bong Bong		40

Home district

Burragorang	20
Stonequarry	10
Wollongong	40
Shepparton	60
Campbelltown	5
Penrith	15
Liverpool	5
Paramatta	15
Sydney	20

[In all, 1066 blankets were distributed to the Natives of New South Wales]

**Charles Rodius's Aboriginal Portraits**

1834: Charles Rodius (1802-60), a Sydney artist, produces lithographic profiles and portraits of Hawaia and South Coast Aborigines. They were printed in Sydney by J.G. Austin during 1834.

It appears that Rodius took the following portraits of Hawaia Aborigines in Sydney, and did not actually visit the area. Rodius' portraits of the Aborigines display both their natural dignity and subsequent degradation by white civilisation.

1	Wegay, Shoalhaven Tribe (profile)	16.4 x 19.6 cm
	Pencil & Charcoal	
2	Sangado, Pilot of Shoalhaven August 1834 Sydney N S W	26.7 x 16.7
	Pencil & Charcoal	
3	Morriang, the Lady of Sangado - Pilot of Shoalhaven Cle. Rocks of Sydney August 1834	19 x 26.4
	Pencil & Charcoal	
4	Needy Nora, Shoalhaven Ch. Rocks Sydney 1834	26.9 x 22.6
	Lithograph	
	Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p212), McAndrew (1990, p34)	
5	Tooban, Ginn or Wife of the Chief of Shoalhaven Tribe	26.9 x 22.6
	Lithograph	
	Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p213-3)	
6	Morriang, Shoalhaven Tribe, N S Wales 1834	26.8 x 22.5
	Lithograph	
	Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p212), McAndrew (1990)	
7	a Culaba, Five Islands Tribe	
b	Profile of Culaba	
c	Punch, Ginn or Culaba, Broken Bay Tribe	
	Lithograph	24.9 x 29.9
	Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p213-1)	
8	Numbant, Chat of the Nunnerahs 1834	26.6 x 22.5
	Lithograph	
	Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p212-1), McAndrew (1990)	

Copies are located in the Dixson Library collection, Sydney.

#### H.F. White's Map of Illawarra

1834 Surveyor H.F. White's 'Map of Illawarra' (ADNSW) records the following original Aboriginal names for Illawarra localities and geographical features:

	Modern Equivalent
Balambi	Balambi - township and point
Berwuma	
Bull	Bull - township
Burk (mountain)	Burnt Street
Commai (mountain)	Commai - township
Corrigalla	
Kaara	Keara - mountain
Kembie	Kembie - mountain
Fairy Creek	Fairy Creek
Towradgi	Towradgi - point and township
Wanora Pt.	Wanora Point
Windang	Windang - island and township
Wollongong	Wollongong
Woonona (mountain)	Woonana

1834. Major T.L. Mitchell's 'Map of Illawarra' records the following Aboriginal names for Illawarra localities:

- Tunneroo, or Long Bush - extends along the northern spur of the Saddleback Range, south-west of Kiama and south of Jerrara

1836

#### Distribution of Blankets at Wollongong

April 1836. According to A Campbell's notes (4.6, Appendix 2) 70 blankets were distributed to Aborigines at Wollongong.

.. Mr W N Gray (Commandant) acknowledges 70 blankets per schooner Sarah to be distributed among the native blacks.

#### Summary of Blankets Issued

1836. Table of distribution of blankets to Aborigines on the South Coast of New South Wales during 1835 (ACNSW, 4/2210/1)

#### Distribution of Blankets 1835

Throld Bay	100
Bitterans Bay	
Mr Thomson	20
Mr Horn	50
Mr Flanagan	50
Jervis Bay	30
Ulladullah	60
Upper Shoal Haven, at Mr Ryde's	70
Lower Shoal Haven, at Mr Berry's	100
Mrs Reiby	20
Wollongong, Illawarra	70

July 1836. Conrad Martens, artist, visits Illawarra. Apart from producing a large number of topographical sketches, he produces one small pencil portrait of a local Aborigine with a waddy in hand.

#### Complaint re Aborigines from Kiama Residents

20 August 1836. (Sydney Monitor) Kiama residents complain about crop and stock losses due to the thieving of local Aborigines, including Captain Brooks and Black Harry.

## The Hawkes Blacker

Sir, - We, the Undersigned, have, for a long time past, suffered great and grievous losses from the depredations of the Black inhabitants of this quarter. We have not unfrequently, after our year's toil and anxiety, had the mortification of finding whole acres of our corn, swept away in one night by them, by them, we say, because that fact we can clearly ascertain by the peculiar prints of their feet. But although we have suffered much in the loss of all things out of the house, still we have suffered most in the loss of our pigs, of the two hams alone of Mr Campbell and Mr Hindmarsh, no less than twenty have been taken and destroyed in the last three months, and their wonderful audaciousness in the art of stealing has called all the vigilance up to the 18th of this month, as to the identical individuals, when Mr Otton's stockman met their chief, Black Harry, with a pig of about one hundred weight on his back, and accompanied by another of his tribe, called Captain Brooks, carrying a bunch of spears and a tomahawk.

On being questioned by the stockman, Harry immediately plunged into the bush again, carrying off the pig, while Captain Brooks, with his spear brandished, turned and gave front to the stockman, and so covered Harry's retreat, on which the stockman went and immediately reported the circumstances to Mr Hindmarsh, who, with a few others, followed, and guided by the smoke of their fires, came up to their camp, where a large oven was prepared in a particular way to roast the pig, and where Captain Brooks had arrived, set not Harry. However, next morning early, on our going to the place again, the watchfulness of their dogs gave them alarm in time to get off leaving behind them about one half of the pig, cut up and partly roasted, together with a quantity of Mr Campbell's potatoes and Black Harry's jacks, with some spears &c.

Now Sir, as silence or supineness on our part, in this case would undoubtedly (in their mind) establish their right to plunder and rob us with impunity, and so render our property insecure and our forms of no value, we humbly hope that you will see the necessity of taking such steps as will appear to you best calculated to put a stop to such daring outrages in future, and as we are now able to identify two individuals, we hope we can put the thing within your reach, and we will ready to co-operate with the Police or Constable under your orders.

We are Sir,  
With respect,  
Your most obedient humble servants,

To W H Gray Esq.,  
Police Magistrate,  
Wollongong,  
Kerns, 29th July 1835

Thomas Campbell, Patrick Morris,  
Michael Hindmarsh, John Reches,  
Phydon Otton, Michael Hyam,  
William Brown, J M Gray

## Assault &amp; Kidnapping of an Aboriginal Woman at Shoalhaven

5 December 1835. A charge of Assault and kidnapping of an Aboriginal woman at Shoalhaven is brought before the Hawkes Magistrates at Wollongong (Hawkes Branch of Magistrates Casebooks, H8). Two convicts are found guilty and given 75 and 50 lashes respectively.

Thomas Keast, Lord Blythrock  
7 yrs 1832  
Thomas Parsons, Henry Tanner  
7 yrs 1824  
Henry Thompson, Asia  
14 yrs 1821  
Assigned to Alex Berry Esq.

}      Assault

Joseph Neil deposes, and in the Supt. of Alex. Berry Deposess on Friday the 20th of last month I was sitting eating oysters when the prisoners Parsons & Thompson came up and I asked if they would have some oysters. They said they did not come after that, and Thompson took hold of a Black Woman. He tore my shirt off her. I then went in for my - when Parsons took up a stick and said if I showed the least resistance that he would knock me over. They dragged away the woman. I could hear her one half a mile off. Thompson came back to my Hut the next night and demanded the Child. I refused to give it. Shortly after I saw a Police Man who I told to take the Prisoners in charge. The woman had been living with me about eight weeks.

his

Joseph x McNeil

mark

Robert Norshan Mounted Police deposser when he was at Shoal Haven, he saw the Prisoners passing & Keats had told of a Black Woman, and Thompson walking after them. The last witness told me to take them in charge. I could not as I being on other duty at that time.

his

Robt x Monaghan

mark

Sawm this 8th Decr. 1836

W.M. Gray J.P.

H. O'leary J.P.

A Black Native called Mura states that she lives at Numba with McNeil. I want to live with McNeil. I do not want to live with the Three Prisoners. The three prisoners took me away from McNeil. I did not tell Thompson to take me away. They took me to the Clear Ground to their Hut. They kept me there four days. They did not beat me. I could not go back the next day. Thompson kept me. I cried when I was taken away from McNeil.

Parsons & Thompson Guilty of taking a Black Native away forcibly from Joseph McNeil

Persons to receive	50 lashes
Thompson	70 ds.

1836

#### Reward for Black Natives

May 1836. Local Aborigines discover the clothes of a murdered convict and are recommended for reward (Archibald Campbell Papers, Appendix 2)

Mr W N. Gray recommended that the reward offered for the murder of the late Patrick Fox in Illawarra be not paid to the parties claiming such. He stated that he did not consider any persons but the Black Natives who found the clothes of the deceased had any claim for a reward - such clothes have been the chief evidence against the murderer - James Tobe.

#### Wollongong & Kiama Aborigines

25 May 1836. Return of Wollongong and Kiama natives for 1836 (AONSW, 4/2002: 1)

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Wollongong on 29th May 1836

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	Number of wives	Child M	F	Tribe
1	Old Bundle	-	40	1			
2	Young Bundle	-	23	1			
3	Frying Pan	-	44	1			
4	-	Timberry	40	1			
5	Doctor	Tarong	23	1			
6	Billy Hooker	Bunes	24	1			
7	Charley Hooker	Korekula	24	1			
8	Old Man	Quabally	50				
9	Jo	Trnamull	20				
10	-	Manggy	38	1			
11	Bill	Mullangollo	25	1			
12	-	Wollongong	50	1	1		
13	Tommy	Bedward	32	1			
14	Charcoal	Taura	40	1			
15	-	Old Tel	45	1			
16	Darby	Mitanglo	28	1			
17	Thomas	Torinama	28		1	1	
18	Tommy	Guringong	30	1			
19	Talboy	Ilamoo	26	1			
20	Philip	Mowatlong	30				
21	-	Mungle	50				
22	Charly	Mar	20				
23	Pete	Wollengul	50				
24	Jack	Kul	32	1			
25	-	Baffoe	55	1			
26	Cowtown	Tulimba	38	1			
27	Paddy	Bunningia	28				
28	River Jim	Jemmy jums	38				
29	Paddy	Corrang	20				
30	-	Malgo	20				
31	Thomas	Uncleste	20	1			
32	Johny	Torandy	20				
33	Jemmy	Conroe	18				
34	Fisherman	Coosmal	13				
35	Jack	Wingilong	20				
36	Old	Talagh	50	1			
37	Young Man	Timberry	24				
38	Timothy	Conorung	22	1	1	1	
39	-	Moruna	50	1			
40	Jacky	Womala	28	1			

(All the above were designated as belonging to the 'Five Islands tribe and Kerna tribe', with their usual place of resort at 'Wollongong & Kiama']

Summary	Men	40			
	Women	28			
	Boys	5			
	Girls	8	Total	79	

## Return of Shoalhaven Aborigines

21 June 1838. Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven. Compiled by Alexander Berry (AONSWL 42352.1)

June 21st 1838  
Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven  
and to whom Blankets have been given

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	No.	Child of wives	M	F	Tribe	Blankets given
1	Bogano	Bogano	33		0				
2	Cobborn Mick	Noorson	32		0			Shoal Haven	
3	Greedy Boy	Towrang	27		0				
4	Sam	Tool-arsby	28		0				
5	Michael	Monkey	14		0				
6	Neddy	Noosar	27		0				
7	Cobborn Mick	Yankit	33		0				
8	Cooeeboy	Cooeeboy	52		1	0	0		
9	Jack Jack	Coowayng	47		0	0	0		
10	Mary	Bawora	18		0				
11	Paddy	Goonell	18		0				
12	Kennedy	Goonora	22		0				
13	Charley	Yambat	23		0				
14	Burnos	Burnos	19		0				
15	Jimbungo	Jimbungo	23		0				
16	Good Good	Good Good	42		0	0	0		
17	Jack	Boolbin	23		0	0	0		
18	Nunang Jack	Wazal	30		0	0	0		
19	Tommy Settler	Pautsuc	38		0				
20	Wademan Jack	Woonawarr	27		0				
21	Burrow	Coombull	12		0				
1	Long Charcoal	Moornit	37	1	0			Numur	0
2	Fridley	Burnin	42		0				1
3	Peckery corn	Toomnoor	33	1	0				1
4	Brackey smth	Goodbar	32	1	0				1
5	Bolino	Bolino	32	1	0				1
6	Ugly Jack	Ganimbell	13		0			oboomi	
7	Gobito	Pamisell	32	1	0				1
8	Jim Charcoal	Numberry	35	1	0				1
9	Harry	Cunning	31	1	0				1
10	Cobborn Bill	Pilama	35	1	0				1
11	Wollalby Jack	Baloon	13		0				1
12	Charley Goodnight Arby	51	1	1	0				1
13	Monkey Pe	Pemeporong	18		0				1
14	Dr Wirthwoch	Tukken	23		0				1
1	Carroll (At Five Islands)	Carroll	30		0			Gerringong	
2	Billy Roberts	Heronmell	24		0				1
3	Water Water	Water Water	28	1	0				1
4	Harry (At Five Islands)	Yucker	27		0				1
5	Silwyer	Umberunda	26	1	1				

6	Mickey	Nithoo	16		1
7	Georgey (At Five Islands)	Nimurall	17		1
8	Mungolong	Mungolong	51		1
9	Commandant	Commandant	13		1
10	Jack Bailey	Termywer	29		1
11	Willem	Willem	18		1
1	Derby Brook (a notorious thief?)	Yacking	32	Broughton Creek	
2	Amor	Sandigong	52		1
3	Uon	Carman	21		1
4	Jackey	Undloong	23		1
5	Tiger	Hooring	24		1
6	Dick	Bulboong	20		1
7	Chatley	Tindel	20		1
8	Gandy Gandy	Gandy Gandy	40		1
9	Joe	Tamong	11		1
10	Shondar	Shondar	9		1
11	Macarthy	Macarthy	11		1
12	Broughton	Toodwick	38		1
13	Bily	Bulboong	6		1
1	Sam (V. De Land)	Condewhate	25	Murrao	
2	Davy	Berong	27		1
3	Abraham	Gelawar	29		1
4	Sam	Fisherman	40		1
5	Davy	Tunster	52		1
6	Jimmy	Coongalong	18		1
7	Tinker	Tinker	41		1
8	Jimmy	Moque	20		1
9	Tommy	Woozung	51		1
10	Sam	Warrn	25		1
11	Teobaw	Yawn	30		1
12	Sam	Minbar	20		1
13	Old Meger	Meger	40		1
14	Johnney	Tibar	8		1
1	Jack	Nuttong	26	Jarve's Bay	1
2	Monday	Monday	50		1
3	Jack	Berong	40		1
1	Joe	Nunguroo	28	Vilorey	1
2	Peter	Vercluck	30		1
3	Nelson	Nourangally	28		1
4	Jim Cotton	Heil	20		1
5	Tom Bailey	Woolbooboro	28		1
6	Joe	Column	33		1
7	Johnney	Burrangong	54		1

8	Padugong	Mingo	52	1	1	1	1
9	Joe	Jambegong	62				1
10	Paddy Blunt	Cattuck	52	1	4		1
11	Paddy	Wolley	19				1
12	Nimble	Nimble	47	1	1		1
13	Billy	Yammim	16				1
14	Yolweman	Cooeeboon	50		2		1
15	Uncle John	Mundjung	51		1		1
16	Charley	Unumbar	28				1
17	Dick	Jongrai	29				1
18	Jockey	Namnumul	20	1			1
19	Nuddy	Diagong	30				1
20	Jockey	Jennibular	27				1

## General Total

		Men	Women	Children		Gent	Number of Blankets is each tube
				Male	Female		
1	Shoal Haven	21	14	9	3	47	28
2	Numba	14	7	5	2	20	14
3	Gawongong	11	2	1		14	8
4	Broughton Creek	13	6	1	1	19	14
5	Munap	14	4	2	1	21	13
6	Jervis Bay	3	1	4		3	
7	Worrey	20	8	5	7	40	20
		94	41	22	14	173	100 issued

Alex. Basy

## Return of Erowal Aborigines

4 July 1886 Return of Erowal natives for 1886. Erowal is located at St. George's Basin, on Cumumbene Creek, and just south of Jervis Bay (ADNSW, 4/2302/1)

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Erowal on 4th July 1886

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	Number of wives	M	F	Place or District of Resent
1	Cobbin Jack	Portbune	39	1	1	2	Erowal
2	Paramatta Jack	Galmut	27	2			do
3	Jacob	Nanook	24	1			Paramatta
4	Carbon Tom	Canadus	29	1		1	Erowal
5	Jerry	Bullong	44				do
6	Waterman	Yaruck	20				do
7	Collamento	Collamento	48				Paramatta
8	Old Tom	Mungaroos	32	1	1	3	do
9	Bob	Bunring	30	2		2	do
10	Charley	Hossabey	26	1			do

.00

11	Cabbo	Banwayts	24	1	1	do
12	Selomon	Berang	20			Erowal
13	William	Geduri	16			do
14	Peter	Harmick	26	1	1	Parma

[All the above are designated as belonging to the Erowal tribe]

15	Captin Cook	Cambeewa	24			Erowal
16	Bob Budgen	Buddin	20	1	2	Jerwangala
17	Burgury	Burgury	27	1	2	do
18	Deck	Waluddy	26	1	1	Bherwerre
19	William	Dollis	45			do
20	Tom Davis	Gumtuck	20	2		do
21	Bill Davis	Tindringa	22	1		do

[All the above are designated as belonging to the Bherwerre tribe]

22	Jack Lawther (Kewall tribe)	Taree	24	1		Munmarang
23	Dan (Bherwerre tribe)	Sholong	21			do
24	George (Bherwerre tribe)	Cariburna	16			Bherwerre
25	Parberry (Jervis Bay tribe)	Berury	25	1		Jervis Bay
26	Old Moseley (Jervis Bay tribe)	Mundy	30			do
27	Mungi (Jerwangala tribe)	Mungonka	45	1		Jerwangala
28	Charley (Erowal tribe)	Wanal	25	1	1	Erowal
29	Miry (Erowal tribe)	Punganes	24	Widow 1	2	do
30	Hoppy Joe (Jerwangala tribe)	Jemusal	21			Jerwangala

Jno. Lamb

#### Summary

Male	29		
Women	22		
Boys	9		
Girls	15		
		Total	75

#### Stockhouse & Walker in Tasmania

September - October 1838 Reverend James Stockhouse, a Quaker minister, and his companion George Washington Walker, visit Ilawarra, Shoalhaven, and Bong Bong. They encounter a group of local Aborigines at Kangaroo Valley, Stockhouse noting that they were en route to a corroboree in Sydney, to exchange songs.

In March 1837 the pair briefly visited Jervis Bay whilst en route to Tasmania - see under 1837 for the relevant extracts of that encounter.

During their travels both Backhouse and Walker kept detailed diaries, and Backhouse published an account of their travels in 1843, based on the diaries.

Extracts from the manuscript journals of both Backhouse and Walker (Mitchell Library) are reproduced over the following pages, along with excerpts from Backhouse's published account.

**Revend James Backhouse's Journal Extracts**

[Wednesday, 21 September, Wollongong] ... The Blacks in this district are not numerous, a group of them (many of whom were affected with sores) were seated on the ground near one of the settler's houses ...

27/9 inc. 3rd day [Tuesday 27 September] Having engaged a native Black as guide, through the medium of Eliash Williamson we proceeded with him to Kyama, his Colymal name was Tommy, he had a depressed nose, rather enlarged on one side from some injury, his eyes were drawn obliquely downward towards their inner angle, and he wore the pinion bone of a duck or larger fowl tied the cartilage of his nose for an ornament. Through an aperture in this texture they will sometimes stick a tobacco-pipe when they lack pockets or other convenient places for carriage. Our guide however was attired in a suit of mean ragged European clothes, and as a part of his wages, we furnished him with a new suit of slops such as are used for prisoners consisting of a grey woollen jacket, cotton trousers and striped shirt, which we obtained of our host H. Osborne for their fine woollen coat of 2/6 each. These with a straw hat made him quite spruce, and he turned his old clothes into a bundle and tied them about his shoulders; we passed a few other blacks on the way with some of whom Tommy divided his provisioner need at Marshall's Mount [Henry Osborne's home]; the females had their hair ornamented with teeth twisted into the ends of the fingers with some sort of wax. In the district of Illawarra they are, as in a diminishing race, it is said they are not more than one-third of what they were a few years ago. ...

[Wednesday, 28 September]. We passed more Blacks this morning near Kyama; several had collected at Mrs. Kendall's, with whom our guide seemed to be in good understanding, he spent the night with them, pretending the shelter of a few sheets of bark to that of T. Kendall's kitchen.

[Thursday, 29 September]. Alex. Berry informed us that having once fired at and wounded a porpoise when in a boat with some Black men, they appeared dispossessed, and on landing told their women what had been done, on which they began to cry, and he learned that they esteemed the porpoises, ancient chiefs of the neighbourhood, who when they had died had undergone a change into these animals. ...

1/10 inc. 7th day [Saturday 1 October 1839]. We crossed Shoal Haven with Jno. and Wm. Berry, being rowed by three Blacks, one of whom named Lewis recognized us, having met us at Jno. Batman's, in VOLAND. He is one of those who were employed in collecting the natives of that Colony and was dressed in an old suit of Col. Arthur's clothes. A Black came from a sealing establishment of A. By, where he has learned to work and said he had cleared a piece of land and sowed some pumpkins. He asked also for some seed potatoes to plant, and said he thought it much better to have a settled habitation than to lead a wandering life like his countrymen. A. Berry was much pleased with this spontaneous attempt on the part of the Black to settle, having often in vain tried to persuade some of these people to adopt such a course. ...

2/10 inc. 8th day [Sunday 2 October]. About 90 persons assembled at 11 o'clock under the verandah of Cooingabba, which was seated with planks laid upon small stakes for the occasion, and we had a satisfactory meeting with them. Alex. Berry and his brothers and Jno. Cockburn were also of the company having exalted themselves of the adjacent passage. The only native Black in the congregation was Lewis. It was pleasant to observe the kindly feeling exhibited toward the natives here, who from the first settlement of the place have been kept on good terms by the kind-hearted proprietor.

9/10 mo. 2nd day [Monday 3 October]. Being kindly supplied with provisions and also with some articles of wearing apparel for two Blacks named Lewis and Sam, whom we engaged for guides to Bong Bong, we commenced our journey after breakfast.

Before ascending a mountain range we met half a dozen Blacks, partly dressed in blankets or European clothing and armed with fishing and hunting spears and weapons of war, some of which were of remarkable figure [rough sketch given], and all of heavy wood; one of them was a young man of strongly fine features and expressive countenance.

Before sunset we arrived at a station on the Kangaroo-Ground belonging to a person of the name of Brooks; where we were recognised by a person in charge that was a prisoner in the Windsor Bridge Party when we visited it, and by a native youth who was at the meeting at Dapto on the 25th ult. ... It contains a plain of a few hundred acres and some grassy open forest land of considerable extent, occupied for cattle by the Brooks and My Dobson; it is a place of resort for the Blacks, three tribes of whom are now upon it.

4/10 mo. 3rd day [Tuesday 4 October]. We set forth for Bong Bong, having in addition to Lewis and Sam, Tommy, our former Black guide to assist in carrying our luggage. Since he left us at Shoal Haven he had been engaged in a fight, had got his head broken and had made peace with his antagonist.

Eight other Blacks also joined our party and kept with us. One of the tribes here had in it forty men; the three tribes were from Shoal Haven, Bong Bong and belonging [sic] the Kangaroo-ground; they are all about to visit the Cow Pastures to learn a new song [a corroboree?] an object for which they sometimes travel far.

Several of them could speak tolerable English; they were generally attired in skin garments fixed over one shoulder and under the other, or in blankets or in some articles of British dress. Occasionally those who had shirts would put off their linings in the hot part of the day. The parting between some of them and Lewis was very brotherly; he is going with some Europeans to Port Phillip. Few of them had any covering for their heads, some had fillets of net-work round them, one or two had matted caps and Lewis wore a hat manufactured from young leaves of the Cabbage tree, which is here abundant. All the men had undergone the ceremony of having a front tooth knocked out of the upper jaw.

An aged woman who has lost the use of her limbs was under a small shelter near R Brooks's hut, and is chiefly sustained by the White people there, the she has three sons.

After some time had been spent in conversation, which we found it necessary to submit to patiently, our company commenced their march, carrying with them their arms, consisting of spears, waddles, boomerangs and a musket.

One of the spears (a) was barbed with broken green bottle glass, stuck in with Gossypium gum, with which also they secure the points, the shafts being of Gossypium flower stems and hard wood. Another (b) had a single wooden barb. Two of the waddles (c & d) were of hard wood, as was also a boomerang (e) which is thin, and sharp edged. A throwing stick or woomera (f) is used by laying its barb against the end of the spear, by which additional impulse is imparted to it, the woomera being retained in the hand from which the spear is thrown. ...

... at length we reached the noble mansion of Charles Theodore [at the present-day Moss Vale], by whom and his wife we were kindly received, and who supplied our numerous able attendants with food also, maintaining a kindly feeling toward the race, who are here quiet, peaceable people toward the whites, more intelligent and less of depraved appearance than many of their countrymen.

[Wednesday 5 October] ... We passed some of the Blacks who accompanied us yesterday; also some others, among whom were a man and his wife and two young children, one of which was evidently of European extraction. The Blacks of this part of NSW bring up their half casta children, and thus some of the descendants of Europeans are left to the uncivilised training of a people

denominated savages, but here as in many other cases the cruelty is on the part of the unnatural fathers.

George Washington Walker's Journal Extracts

[Tuesday, 27 September]. we commenced our journey accompd. by our black, named by the Europeans Tommy, whom we had engaged to conduct us to Bongbong. The Aborigines are very skilful as guides—

2019 Mo. Fourth day [Wednesday 28 September]. Our black guide, whom we find very useful and attentive, had joined a party of his countrymen in the bush during the night notwithstanding its inclemency, but cast up in due time in the morning.

[Friday, 30 September]. One of the three Blacks who assisted G. A. Robinson in communicating with the V.D.L. Aborigines, and whom we saw when last at J. Ballantyne's, arrived at Shoal Haven today. His name is Louis. Our former guide having left us, it is probable we may engage him to conduct us to Bong Bong

[Monday, 3 October]. A great many Aborigines from various districts, Bongbong, Kangaroo ground, were assembled about this place, it was said, to proceed to the Coopertunities to learn a new song that had recently been invented by the Blacks of those parts. Many of these people were fine, athletic men, and bearing marks of a more than common share of intellect, with it but slightly cultivated and expanded. We saw our former guide wh. had left us abruptly, to deliver a message with wh. he had been entrusted before he met with us, by a person residing at the Kangaroo ground, wh. we were willing to regard as suff. apology for his defection, and we agreed that on his accompg. us to Bong Bong the following day, he shd. receive his 2/6 [two shillings and sixpence] wh. we had promised him on his arrival with us at the place. He had been fighting since his return and had recd. two violent cuts on the head - the cause of this quarrel with one of his tribe was respecting a woman.—

[Tuesday, 4 October]. Our kind entertainer Chas. Throsby rewarded our 11 blacks with a plentiful repast from his well-dilinished kitchen, to wh. we added some money, of wh. the Aborigines in these parts well understand the use, to as to provision themselves with tea and sugar &c.

While recurring once more to these people, I am reminded of a circumstance of pleasing nature that occurred whilst we were at Shoal Haven. One of the Aborigines applied to Alexr. Berry for some seed potatoes, alleging that he had cleared some ground a few miles up the Shoal Haven River, where he had already sowed pumpkins, being determined to settle down and abandon the vagrant habits of his countrymen. Whether he may persevere or not is to be proved, but the disposition to make the attempt is one of the rare instances that it is pleasing to have to record.

The Blacks on this coast feed voraciously on the flesh of Whales that are cast ashore from time to time, and sometimes they partake of it when in such a state of decomposition and in such quantity as to sicken themselves exceedingly ill. We saw a number of these people about Shoal Haven, and the same degrading intercourse that prevails so much in other parts between the females of the various tribes and the assigned Servants, Stock-keepers &c there is reason to believe exists in these parts. We saw several half-caste children, and in this instance, wh. is far from common, boys, as well as girls.

The Blacks of this district believe in the transmigration of souls. Alexr. Berry was out one day in a boat, having a number of Aborigines with him. In the course of the day several porpoises came alongside, and the blacks setting him make preparations to shoot at one that had to elude him from his purpose, he however shot one, of wh. they appeared much disturbed. On returning home, the Blacks related the circumstance of his having killed (or wounded) a porpoise to the woman who had been left behind, on which they showed symptoms of extreme dissatisfaction and horror, and immediately began to weep. It appears that they have an idea that the souls of their deceased Chiefs, inhabit the bodies of porpoises after death. Hence their reluctance to kill, or injure any of these animals. This Alexr. Berry learned from the Blacks themselves in answer to his enquiries.

They do not appear to have been acquainted with all the roots, or vegetable productions calculated to afford subsistence to the human race. Among others the Cabbage-tree appears to have been unknown to them as a means of food, until they were taught to eat it by Europeans. One of the Blacks of the party who accompd. us from the Kangaroo Ground, climbed up to the top of a Cabbage, or Palm tree, and cutting off the top or crest including about a foot of the upper part of the stem with his tomahawk, he fell to the ground. He then descended, stripped off the outer covering, or sheath, consisting of the base of the leaves composing the crest, and took the central part from it for the purpose of food. It tastes sweetish, not unlike a new hazel nut, and is far from unpalatable.

The Palm-tree is used by Europeans for a variety of purposes. The timber is not considered a durable wood, but from its convenient form and size is much used in the Illawarra district for fencing, but is generally appropriated to the rails that are inserted into the upright posts that are fixed in the ground. The latter coming in contact with the damp earth would render the Palm-tree ineligible for such a purpose from the cause I have alluded to. The leaves of this tree are clothed near the base, with a fibrous skin, or covering wh. looks somewhat like coarse cloth, or fine matting, and is very useful in packing, and the leaves themselves are used for thatching the roofs of huts &c &c. They are also split up into thin strips, and are used in place of straw for the manufacture of hats, wh. are worn very generally in the districts where the palm-tree abounds and are both neat and durable. The heart of the Sago-tree is also eaten by both Blacks and Whites for food, but I do not know that it is useful for other purposes.

We met with a party of Aborigines returning from "Kangaroo ground" yesterday, one of whom had a large mass of substance that looked rather like paste that had been mixed up with some colouring substance, like dirt. We were told on enquiry that it was prepared from the nuts, or seed of the Xanthia wh. are in size and shape, as well as colour, not unlike a horse chestnut, and grow in large clusters the size of a man's head from the centre of the plant. When perfectly ripe the seeds separate and drop out onto the ground, in this state they are of a bright red, and it is in this state that they are used by the Blacks, who either roast them, and pound them into a paste, steeping them in water to rid them of their acid and hurtful properties, or get rid of these by longer period of steeping in water, so as to render them fit to be eaten in a raw state. The Black who earned this substance, had wrapped it up in a leaf of the Palm-tree, ..

*A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*  
(James Backhouse, Hamilton & Adams, London, 1843)

[21 September 1839] ...The Blacks in this district (Illawarra) are not numerous, a group, many of whom were afflicted with sores, were seated on the ground, when we returned into the town (Wollongong) ...

[27 September 1839] ...When at Daplo, we engaged a native Black, named Tommy, of the Kangaroo Ground, to be our guide to Bong Bong. He was of middle stature, rather broad-shouldered, and had a depressed nose, through the cartilage of which, he wore a bone. His eyes were drawn obliquely towards their outer angle, probably from the same cause which occasioned an elevated ridge downward, from one of them. When he came to us, he was dressed in a suit of ragged, European clothing, but as part of his wages, he was fitted out with a striped shirt, a pair of canvas trowsers, and a grey, woolen jacket. - On the way to Kaima, we called on several small settlers, and left them presents. We also fell in with some of the Aborigines. The females had their hair ornamented with kangaroo's teeth. They inquired of our guide, who we were, and where we were going, and appeared well satisfied with his explanations. All the men had the cartilage of the nose perforated, and through the perforation, they will sometimes stick the stem of a tobacco-pipe, when they have no other convenient place for carrying it!

[Backhouse and Walker then travelled on to Kaima, south of Wollongong]

... Our black guide, who speaks English intelligibly, and is of an industrious disposition, joined some of his country-people in the bush, notwithstanding the inclemency of the night, preferring their company, and the shelter of a few sheets of bark, to the company of white people, in a house.

[28 September 1838] The day was showery, but we prosecuted our journey, in the course of which we passed several Blacks, with whom our guide was acquainted, and called on a few settlers ..

[Backhouse and Walker eventually reach Alexander Berry's settlement at Colongatta, on the Shoalhaven, the following day]

... From the first settlement of this place, Alexander Berry has succeeded in maintaining a good understanding with the natives, who, he says, believe in transmigration, after death. This first claimed his notice, when he had wounded a Perpoiso, which some Blacks, who were with him in the boat, tried to dissuade him from firing at. On landing, the men told the women what he had done, at which they made great lamentation; and he learned from them, that they regarded the Perpoiso, as having been the ancestral chief of the neighbourhood, who, when they had died, had changed into these animals, and who, they said, drove fish on shore for them, sometimes whales, when the people were very hungry!

One of the Aborigines, who has learned to saw, at A. Berry's sawing establishment, came to Colongatta to-day, and asked for some seed potatoes. He said, he had cleared a piece of land, and sowed some pumpkins, and wanted to grow some potatoes, and "set down", for it was "no good" to wander about, as his countrymen did. A. Berry was much pleased with this spontaneous offer to settle, he having often tried in vain, to persuade some of these people to adopt such a course.

[2 October 1838] About ninety persons assembled under the verandah at Colongatta, with whom we had a satisfactory meeting. The only native Black who was present, was Lewis, a man we became acquainted with in V.O. Land, and who was employed in assisting to collect the Natives.

No families in N.S.W. Wales, who assemble for public worship, appear to take any pains to collect the Blacks along with them. The idea that the Blacks cannot understand a dissertation in English, is one obstacle, and their want of personal cleanliness is another, but neither of these are insurmountable difficulties. I had postulated that if worldly enrichment was to be had by civilizing and instructing the Aborigines, they would soon be civilized and instructed; but generally, there is a great neglect, on the part of the white population, with regard to their own spiritual state, and consequently with respect to those around them, especially the Blacks.

[3 October 1838] We again proceeded on our journey, leaving two Blacks, Lewis and Sam, as guides, Tommy having left Shoalhaven, without notice. We were so amply provided with food for two days, by our kind host, that the services of one of these men was required, to carry it on his head, in a sack.

At the foot of the Cambewarra mountains, we met half-a-dozen Blacks, dressed in blankets, and in the old clothes of Europeans. One of these sons of the forests had an expressive countenance, and remarkably fine features; he spoke English tolerably, and said that he went occasionally as a seaman, on board a vessel belonging to A. Berry. These people were accoutred with hunting and fishing spears, and weapons of war, some of which are here represented. Figure 1, is a heavy, wooden, offensive weapon, Fig 2, a throwing stick, or woomera, used for projecting spears, the other extremities of which, are placed against the back, behind the comitulum, as represented at page 380; Fig 3, a single-barbed spear, used in war; Fig 4, a death-spear, barbed with a row of pieces of glass; Fig 5, a shield, of wood, having a handle in the centre, under which is a piece of soft, tea-tree bark, to defend the knuckles. This shield was whitened, and marked with red lines; sometimes they are blackened with blood and soot, under the idea of rendering them proof against injury, and on this black surface, the figure of a hand is occasionally depicted, by means of a white powder, thrown on before the black is dry, or the whole is dotted with white. At Moruya Bay, the shields were oblong, and made of light wood, of the *Acacia Nodosa*. Figs. 6 and 8, are clubs of heavy wood. Fig. 7, a Boomerang. Boomerang, or *Woomeran*, or *Ryter*, described at page 219. Fig 9, a four-pronged fishing-spear, described at page 200.

[The party now travels on to the Kangaroo Ground, present day Kangaroo Valley]

In passing through some of the more open forest, on the Kangaroo River, and contiguous plain, Buttacups, Weeds, and geraniums, resembling those of English fields, but not identical with them, reminded us pleasantly of our native land, while Red-tailed Black Cockatoos, numerous Aborigines, and many plants of truly Australian texture, proved that we were still at the antipodes of the land of our birth.

The men residing on the Kangaroo Ground, had no Bible. The only religious treatise in their possession was a Prayer Book, but they were not destitute of compassion for the afflicted. A poor, aged, black woman, who had lost the use of her legs, and was living near their hut, under a slight shelter, formed of a few sheets of bark, was chiefly supported by milk and scraps of food, which they gave her.

(4 October 1834) We found our old guide on the Kangaroo ground, where he had been engaged in a fight, had got his head severely broken, and had then made peace with his antagonist.

Three tribes of Blacks were assembled here last night, one belonging to the neighbourhood, and the others to Shirehaven and Bong Bong. There were forty men in one of these tribes. They were going to the Cow pastures, to learn a new song, that had been invented by some of their country people there! For an object of this kind they often travel great distances. Several of them speak tolerable English. They were armed either in skin garments, fastened over one shoulder and under the other, or blankets, or in articles of European clothing; one having on a pair of trowsers, another a shirt, a third a jacket, and so on. Few of them had any covering for their heads, and none had shoes.

All the men had undergone the ceremony of having one front-tooth knocked out, on being admitted to the privileges of manhood; and they had the canals of their noses perforated, and bones, the thickness of a quill, and about four inches long, through them. They wore fillets of network around their heads, and beads, formed of short pieces of reed, round their necks.

They prop up large sheets of bark with sticks, for shelters to sleep under, having fired in front. They are very peaceable, when kindly treated. We felt no fear whilst sleeping in a rude hut, without a fastening to the door, which blew open several times in the night, though about 200 of them were only a few yards distant.

In the morning eight of them, in addition to the three we had engaged, choose to accompany us on our journey. Our party did not commence their march until after a considerable time had been spent in conversation between our subtle companions, and their countrymen. To this delay we were obliged to submit patiently. They came with them, their arms, and a musket, which one of them had received as a present from a settler, for whom he had done some service ...

One of the Natives ascended a Gidgee Palm, and with a hatchet, cut off its head, which he soon stripped of leaves, to afford us the opportunity of tasting the heart. Not having that of the Sassafras to compare it with, at the time, I could not decide that it was superior, though it is generally reputed to be so. The Natives informed us that they were not aware that the hearts of these palms were wholesome, till White people came among them; they now form a considerable item of their food, in this part of the country. The Blacks were greatly afraid of being poisoned, by eating articles to which they have not been accustomed. Though sometimes pressed with hunger, they seem not to have tried several vegetable productions, likely to afford sustenance, and these of V.D. Land will not eat any kind of fish, but shark-fish, probably from fear of being poisoned by them ...

Some Pheasants and a Kangaroo were espied in the bush by the Natives, who were very cheerful companions. They were amply supplied with food, on arriving at the noble mansion of Charles Throsby, at Throsby Park, near Bong Bong, where we also were received with great hospitality.

.....

## Return of Aborigines at Bong Bong

15 November 1888: Return of Aboriginal Natives at Bong Bong. This return also includes Aborigines from Shoalhaven and Kangaroo Ground (ADNSW, 4/2502 1).

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Bong Bong on 15th November 1888

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob. Age	No. of wives	Child of M F	Piece or District of descent
1	Ellie (Bong Bong tribe)	Ellie	26	2	1	Bong Bong
2	Jackie (Bong Bong tribe)	Tessang	35	2		Button Forest
3	Charley (Bong Bong tribe)	Yimang	25			Bong Bong
4	Billy (Bong Bong tribe)	Morda	40	1	2	do
5	Johnny (Bong Bong tribe)	Banma	32	1		do
6	Billy Berlin (Bong Bong tribe)	Buddong	45	1		do
7	Jackie (Bong Bong tribe)	Boondar	45	1		do
8	Cobann Jackie (Bong Bong tribe)	Cobann	45	1	1	do
9	Charley (Bong Bong tribe)	Manigo	30	1		do
10	Jimmy (Mitagong tribe)	Korrigon	27	1	1	do
11	Joe Wild (Wunjecarabe tribe)	Ugo	20	1		Mitagong
12	Charley (Bong Bong tribe)	Yewonder	14			Wunjecarabe
13	Jimmy (Bong Bong tribe)	Malong	40	2		Bong Bong
14	Jacko (Curraghally tribe)	Coolendilly	35			Wunjecarabe
15	Niddy (Rattina tribe)	Bunjaron	25			Bong Bong
16	Jenkins (Kangaroo Ground tribe)	Coonggoody	24			Kangaroo Ground
17	Harry (Kangaroo Ground tribe)	Yanungla	15			do
18	Jackie (Kangaroo ground tribe)	Bulwora	18			do
19	Broughton (Broughton Creek tribe)	Tho iho i	40	2	3	Shoalhaven
20	Coburn Jack (Broughton Creek tribe)	Yeanulli	30	1		Bong Bong
21	Charley (Broughton Creek tribe)	Tyndal	21	1		Kangaroo Ground
22	Dick (Broughton Creek tribe)	Bahong	22			do

23	Paddy	Curnowol	15		do		
24	Jackie	Mundjung	26	1	do		
25	Jemmy	Midjoch	17		do		
26	Jemmy	Corrijwang	16		do		
27	Jackie Tlgy	Molly	18		do		
28	Tom	Yalma	27	1	do		
29	Harry	Wingah	40	2	1	do	
30	Captin Brook	Yippone	55	1	1	2	do
31	Daniel	Kandigundu	56			do	
32	Jimmy	Narrangama					
33	Cockie	Kogoom					
34	Charley	Palero					
35	Billy Blue	Bossoo					
36	Nimmit	Minmit					
37	Charley	Midgenong					
38	Philip	Philip					
There were no blanks for these							
Females							
English	Native	English	Native				
Polly	Juleong	Mary	Bempilo				
Polly	Booma	Kitty	Kirkhang				
Mary	Emkungul	Mary	Colu				
Emily	Aroa	Betty	Mooribid				
Maria	Campling	Jenny	Janul				
Sally	Uvalong	Betsey	Ngabong				
Betsey	Doonibie	Anna Maria	Bennol				
Jenny	Koolong	Betsey	Wiwadul				
Polly	Koeling	Mary Anne	Goodpall				
Nancy	Tingeru	Fanny	Borkman				
Old Jenny	Oral						
Susan	Wolwanya						
Jenny	Wolwanya						
Nancy	Nancy						
Men	38						
Women	24						
Boys	6						
Girls	7	Total	76				

#### W.H. Femyhough's Profile

[1836] W H Femyhough, artist, produces profiles and portraits of New South Wales Aborigines,  
 including:  
 Bill Womell, Five Islands Tribe  
 Lithograph

1837

## Backhouse &amp; Walker at Jervis Bay

19-21 March 1837: Reverend James Backhouse and his companion George Washington Walker briefly visit Jervis Bay whilst en route to Tasmania from Sydney

The following account of the native huts observed there is from Backhouse's 1840 publication *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies* (London, 1840, pp 458-460):

[20th March 1837] .... We saw some blacks fishing; some of their hooks were formed of pieces of shell, but they preferred English ones, of steel - In the evening, one of them commenced making a shelter for the night, of slabs of bark set up against sticks in the form of a pyramid, such as is represented in the accompanying cut.

(Here follows a woodcut engraving of two of the huts)

Shelters of this kind, or of bark, raised in the form of a roof, are amongst the best habitations of these people, in this part of Australia, most commonly, they only prop up a large sheet or two of bark, with sticks, and thus make a shelter to windward, with a fire in front.

## Return of Aborigines at Shoalhaven

2 May 1837: Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven, by David Barry (ADNSW, 4/1153-3)

2 May 1837  
Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Shoal Haven  
& to whom blankets have been given

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob. Age	No. of wives	Child M	Child F	Design'tn of Tribe	Bl.
1	Bogano	Bogano	34	1	2		Shoal Haven	
2	Cobborn Mick	Nooroor	35	1				
3	Greedy Bay	Torarong	29	1				
4	Sam	Tookambay	29	1	2			
5	Monkey	Michael	17					
6	Needy Nooror	Nooror	28					
7	Cobborn Jack	Yancocet	34	1				
8	Cooreoboy	Cooreoboy	53		1	1		
9	Jack	Goombing	43	1				
10	Mary	Ilwewora	20					
11	Paddy	Groomwell	19					
12	Kennedy	Gourouna	23	1				
13	Charley	Yambil	24	1				
14	Good Good	Good Good	43	2	2	2		
15	Jack	Boolbin	34		1			
16	Narang Jack	Woral	31	1	1			
17	Tommy Settler	Poutalo	33	2				
18	Waterman Jack	Uruwoma	29	1				
				14	9	3		21



11	Yarrowok	Yarrowok	31	1			
12	Sam	Miller	31	1			
13	Old Major	Old Major	41		6	2	2
							13
1	Joe	Nungarook	29	1			
2	Peter	Weddlock	21	1	1	1	
3	Nelson	Neprongally	27				
4	Jim Cotton	Itti	31				
5	Tom Bailey	Woollooboroos	29	1			
6	Joe	Cultumbine	31	1			
7	Johnny	Burramoog	25				
8	Piddle gong	Murrao	53				
9	Joe	Gintagong	53				
10	Paddy Blust	Cuttack	53	1		1	
11	Paddy	Wollang	34				
12	Nimblie	Nimblie	46	1			
13	Billy	Hammer	17				
14	Yellowman	Coorobooon	51				
15	Uncle John	Mundjung	53		1	1	
16	Charley	Umminbar	39	1		1	
17	Dick	Jangorrie	36				
18	Jackey	Mulmumut	29				
19	Neddy	Dagong	31				
20	Jackey	Gimbier	29				
21	Bill	Tulamee	36				1
22	Mary	Tulong	40				1
23	Margaret	Janda	20		1		1
					7	4	7
							29

The 100 Blankets per Schooner Edward the 16 day April 1837

General Total

Name of Tribe	Men	Women	Children	Genl	Number of Blankets to each tribe	
			Male	Female		
Shoalhaven	17	14	9	3	45	21
Numba	14	7	3	4	26	18
Gorongong	11	5	3	2	21	6
Broughton Creek	10	8	1	2	25	15
Murroo	13	8	2	2	33	13
Wonegees	21	9	4	7	41	29
	94	49	22	20	195	100 Issued

Every Black that received Blankets, had their native name stamped on the Blanket  
David Barry

Aborigines at Wollongong

6 May 1837 Return of Aborigines at Wollongong. This Return is very descriptive in its allocation of 'Place or District of Resort' within Illawarra, revealing the 'home' localities of many of the Aboriginal family groups (AONSW, A/1133 3, 37/6430)

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Wollongong on 8th May 1937

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob. Age	No. of wives	Child M	F	Place or District of Reside
1	Old Bundle	Woolmurray	55	1			Wollongong
2	Young Bundle	Tummalong	55	1			do
3	Old	Tilberry	55	1			do
4	Frying Pan	Womondall	55	1			do
5	Derby	Moogangie	55	1			Dapto
6	Philip	Moogolong	55	1			McQuarie Rivulet
7	Stewart	Gumrock	24				Klarna
8	Sawyer	Ambergunda	20	1		1	do
9	Jammy	Gurnell	18				do
10	Connor	Mangoo	20				Peterborough
11	Tall Boy	Uloomagoo	25				Dapto
12	Timothy	Gumrengong	20	1	1	3	do
13	-	Mungle	30	2			Jambarra
14	Puss	Nillingata	20	1			Dapto
15	Johnny	Bungalond	20				Ilawarra Lake
16	Charley	Mintling	20				Peterborough
17	Williams	Woolongoolow	24	1	1		Macquarie Rivulet
18	Charley Hooker	Gemoon	24	1		1	Ilawarra Lake
19	Jack Rourka	Waitmeng	50	1	1	1	Mullet Creek
20	Joseph	Tomboo	20	1			Wollongong
21	Morgan	Babett	22	1			Mullet Creek
22	Fatherman	Goncomal	18				Wollongong
23	Riverjam	Jennijerry	20				Macquarie Rivulet
24	Carroll	Gamrag	24	1	1	2	Klarna
25	Paddy	Bantingalong	18				Wollongong
26	Paddy	Coorong	19				Dapto
27	Jack Bradley	Thurumee	20				Klarna
28	Willem		20				do
29	Chi Tai	Chi Tai	20	1		1	Macquarie Rivulet
30	-	Mangle	40				Peterborough
31	-	Talose	50				Dapto
32	Jack	Numisong	50	1			Macquarie Rivulet
33	Pomamatta Tom	Unsight	21				Lake Illawarra
34	-	Tooibay	30	1			Kangaroo Ground
35	Jack	Bungoroo	20	1			Klarna
36	-	Bimba	18				Klarna
37	Jack	Babette	20	1			Dapto
38	-	Baselle	22				Dapto
39	Billy Hooker	Bonywong	25	1			Wollongong
40	Doctor	Bonywong	25	1		1	do
41	-	Cooibanner	60				Minnamurra
42	Pad Jig	Chippamine	19				On pro

42 Males	24	4	10
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In addition to which there were Seven Widows & Two Female Orphans

A Holden

Police Office Wollongong  
8 May 1837

Police Magistrate

[All the above are designated as belonging to the 'Five Island Tribe']

**A Convict 'Harboring Gins' at Wollongong**

30 November 1837. William Childs, a convict, is charged with harboring Gins on the property of Colonel John Thomas Leahy, of Wollongong (Lower Branch of Magistrates Casebooks, 145)

Thursday the 30 November 1837

Present A. Holden Esq JP & Jno Osborne Esq JP

William Childs  
Mary 1833 Tyre  
Assigned to J.T. Leahy Esq

Charged with leaving his firearms (with which he was entrusted as a special constable) caused thru' design or neglect, also with inducing black gins to come to his hut and harbouring them contrary to his master's orders

John Thomas Leahy being duly sworn states shortly after my return from Sydney last week I was informed that the watch man Wm. Childs left his firelock under the blanket in his bed in consequence of it being a wet night. I asked him how he could have left it there knowing that I had repeatedly spoken to him on the impropriety of taking the firelock to the hut at all, having frequently seemed in a position by the hut that any person might have run away with it.

He acknowledged his error & seemed to think some of the men did it for spite, & consequently spoke very harshly to the men in the hut on the neglect and to the men in general saying that a jake of the kind might bring trouble on the \_\_\_ of them and recommended them to return the firelock.

I ordered Childs to move from that hut & go into the garden hut, the day after he went there one of the men came to me & said "we do not want to excuse ourselves from having done many bad things for whatever you are away from home notwithstanding what you have said to Italy Childs he has the black gins about the place and he has been long anxious to get to the garden hut as he thought on the vegetables & his rationals he could keep one of those jacs, and if you go down tonight you will find the gins at the back of the garden hut."

That evening my overseer will prove that he found Childs with the black gins in the garden hut. My orders to Childs were that when he hadn't the musket on only he was to give it up to my servant Cusack to take care of.

Sworn before me  
A Holden JP.

Jno. Tres. Leahy

Charles Pulham sworn states - I am Colonial Laundry's overseer & am aware that my master has ordered Chidz not to have the black pins in his hut. On Monday evening I went by his orders to Chidz hut to see if any pins were there, and I found two there & the prisoner Chidz with them.

Sworn before me  
A.J. Holden JP

Charles Pulham

Prisoner states that he has nothing to say in his defense but insists on the truth of his statement as to having put the musket under his blanket and in that way having lost it.

Guilty of disobedience of orders  
11 days Solitary Confinement

.....

#### Alexander Harris at St Georges Basin

[c1827] According to Alexander Harris's *Settlers and Convicts* (London, 1827) around this time he became lost in the vicinity of St Georges Basin, near Jersey Bay, whilst attempting to rendezvous with a friend. After a day or two in the bush, resulting in near exhaustion and starvation, he was finally saved by the discovery of an Aboriginal camp. He describes his fate as follows

...Far in the night as I rose out of one of these [blind creeks] on to the lip of a scrubby hill, there gleamed out bright before me, not half a quarter of a mile off, the fires of a blacks' camp, and the dogs at the same instant, attracted by the crackling of the bush, sprang forward yelping by scores.

I knew there were none but quiet tibiq there, and, filled with new strength, was in a few instants among them, as heartily pleased as ever I had been at any thing in my whole life.

They gave me plenty of baked fish and cabbage-roots, and a "tsangola" of "sugar-bee" (water sweetened with native honey), for which I rewarded them with nearly the remainder of my tobacco - about half a pound.

They were about a hundred of them; several of them I knew well from their coming to my hut some years before [c1827-8], when in the Long-Brush, behind Maama. They put me in one of their best gunyahs (a sort of hut of bark, shaped much like those of the English pyramids), and gave me two very large opossum blankets for the night, with many an exclamation of

"Poor fellow you, bligh (brother), mesi dead you, I believe; what for you stupid like that? what for you nor fitch 'em gun and shoot 'em plaret, and patter (ast)? tall boss got it cheap (the bush has got its shops)."

For an hour the camp was all astir with the white fellow's adventure, the young men shouted and laughed, triumphing in their superior faculties; the old men talked gravely and shook their heads; and the girls, true to their sex, passed to and fro among themselves, from one to the other, their exclamations of pity with each new bit of information about my mishap, as one or other of the blackfellows, by some fresh question, extracted it from me. Human nature is the same from the throne to the jury-ah.

At length all slept except myself. It was long before I could lager myself, though I was very careful to take only a few mouthfuls of food! When I did shut my eyes it was only to pass into a state of delirious consciousness, my mind was even more awake than before I slept. ....

In the morning, though dreadfully tired, stiff, and weak, I set off under the guidance of two of the old men for the rendezvous. I easily made them understand where I wanted to go. You can scarcely name any particular tree in the bush but the blacks know it. The hut they recognised immediately I described it, and I found that my opinion of its original use was perfectly correct.

They told even the stockman's name who used to "sit down" (live) there. He had been dead sometime, or they probably would not have done so.

Instead of going all round by the roads, the blacks took me a short cut, and on my arrival I had the gratification of finding P— was behind his time, and not yet there. As I made full sure it would not be much longer before he made his appearance, we knocked up a fire in the hut, and I passed the remainder of the time in explaining to my guides that I wished them not to say anything to other white men of my being there. This they promised, and they are people with whom a promise made under such circumstances is very rarely, if ever, broken. In my many years' dealings with them I never knew an instance.

The two blacks left me a couple of hours before sundown, giving me one of their tomahawks in case P— failed to come, also a good bundle of cabbage-tree for my supper, and an opossums skin cloak; these cloaks are a rare possession in the bush.

An opossum's skin is about as large as that of a cat, and when stretched out and dried, cuts to about 15 in by 8 or 10. Thus dried, and with all the hair on, the blacks sew them together to the number of from 30 to 40; white men also have learned the art, so manufactured they make a capital protection from the weather, either by day or night. By day they are worn as shawls, by night the wearer wraps them all round him, and lies down completely enveloped. The damp of the ground penetrates them very slowly and very slightly. I have worn one doubled through a whole day's pouring rain without becoming wet.

1887-88

Robert Westmacott, Artist, at Illawarra

Robert Marsh Westmacott, a local settler at Bulli and amateur artist, produced numerous sketches, watercolours, and lithographs depicting the local Aborigines during his ten year residence in the district. The following is a list of known works with Aboriginal subjects or motifs:

- The Bourke Falls, Illawarra 1838  
Lithograph  
[View of two natives, with spears and shield, looking up at the Bourke Falls]
- View from Baskett Pass, on the Manoro Range 1838  
Lithograph  
[A party of Europeans and natives in the foreground]
- Green Point and Five Islands, Illawarra  
Pencil  
[A group of Aborigines is seen fishing in the creek in the right foreground, with a native hut (named by Westmacott a "gunyah") nearby on the bank, native figures in foreground by a campfire]
- Bull Bay on the Coast  
Pencil  
[View from Bull Point with two native figures in foreground by a campfire]
- On the Coast near Stanwell Park  
Wash  
[Two native figures on rock ledge in foreground]

- \* Menzies Falls Illawarra  
Wash  
[Aboriginal figure with spear in left foreground]
- \* Wamona River, Gc. Cook, NSW  
Pencil  
[Aboriginal figures by river, one with spear poised in hand]
- \* Aboriginal Huts  
Wash  
[Front and rear view of a grass hut, showing internal and external structure, woman and child in left hut]
- \* Natives  
Watercolour  
[2 male figures - 1 man standing, and a youth seated. Both wear headbands, whilst the man is wearing a rug coat, and the boy a cloth girdle]
- \* Mountain Pass from 'Jumboiroo' to 'Bong Bong', Illawarra NSW  
Pencil  
[View of mountain pass with two natives in foreground]
- \* Para Creek, Mount Kembla  
Pencil  
[Three native figures by the creek, one immersed fishing]
- \* Mount Keera, Belambi  
Pencil  
[Four native figures, with one in a canoe and another in the water fishing]
- \* Native Women of the Murray River N S Wales  
Watercolour  
[Crouched women, wearing a fur rug and tooth ornament on head]
- \* Native Women  
Watercolour  
[Two native women, each wearing a rug]
- \* Jarvis Bay on the East Coast, N S Wales, a fine harbour  
Watercolour  
[View of the Bay with three native figures in the foreground]
- \* View from Mount Terry, looking towards Lake Illawarra  
Watercolour  
[Aboriginal figure in foreground, wearing a multi-coloured coat]
- \* Buil, from the Coal Diffs. Illawarra  
Watercolour  
[Native figure on rock shelf, fishing with a spear]
- \* Entrance to Illawarra Lake from the sea  
Watercolour  
[An Aborigine fishing with a spear is seen in the centre foreground]
- \* View in the Kangaroo Valley showing the manner the natives climb the trees for opossums and bandicoots  
Watercolour  
[Showing an Aborigine of the Kangaroo Valley climbing a tree to hunt possum. George

French Angas also recorded a similar scene from the Dingo area in August 1845, with Aborigines scaling the slender cabbage palm!]

In 1849 Westmacott published in England a series of 18 lithographs with Australian subjects, based on his original sketches. The following included Aboriginal figures and motifs:

- \* Natives
- \* Mountain Pass, from Jambaroo, Illawarra & Bong Bong
- \* Natives (Armed) (in Deep Mourning)
- \* Condong Creek
- \* Woronora River
- \* Jarvis Bay
- \* Cover for "Sketches in Australia"  
Lithograph & engraving  
(The border to this cover is comprised of Aboriginal artefacts such as spears, axes, a club, women, shield, and nulla nulla)

Each lithograph was accompanied by descriptive letterpress text which often presented brief descriptions of some of the customs of the Aborigines of Illawarra, and New South Wales in general. Relevant sections are reproduced as follows:

- \* Natives. (Armed) (in Deep Mourning)

**Natives**  
**One in Mourning, One Equipped for War**

The Aboriginal population of New South Wales may be classed in the lowest scale of human beings at present known to the white man. The generality of the people are small in stature, with large heads, broad shoulders, long arms, and are very ugly. Their clothing consists simply of an opossums cloak. They are fond of adorning their persons with the teeth of kangaroo, cockatoo feathers, tying squirrel tails, &c. &c. They cover their bodies with whatever grease they can obtain, and with sharp flint cut their breasts, arms, and backs, making long gashes, which they fill with earth, keeping the wound open until it bleeds. It then presents a frightful scene of woe! The males have the front tooth struck out upon a rising at puberty. When they mourn for one of their tribe, or go to war, they smear their bodies with opossum clay and a yellow pigment they take from the bark of trees. They evince some skill in making their war and fishing implements, and are very dexterous in using them. They throw the spear with great precision from one hundred to one hundred and twenty yards, by means of the adze or throwing stick, a piece of wood about three feet long, three inches broad at one end, terminating at a point at the other, to which a hook is fastened; this hook is inserted into the extremity of the spear, a small hole being made to receive it, and the women being grasped at the broad part, the arm is suddenly extended, and the spear flies off. The women remaining in the hand. The boomerang is also a very extraordinary implement used by these savages. Its form is that of a curve, the concave part is something more than a quarter of an inch thick, but the convex side is very sharp. They throw this instrument fifty or sixty yard, in its flight it turns round with great rapidity, and suddenly rising to a great height in the air, then returns, and ultimately falls at the feet of the person throwing it, this weapon is used in hunting as well as war.

It would be difficult to describe their religious beliefs, but they have an idea of the existence of a good and evil spirit. The latter they often wanders about at night, and therefore nothing will induce

a native to move about after nightfall, when the day dries they halt, and to use their own phrases - they sit down. When one of the tribes die, the name is never mentioned for one week/month, nor is any allusion made concerning the deceased. They treat their women brutally, and they obtain their wives after a very novel fashion. They steal the woman from another tribe, cautiously following their track and watching for the opportunity when the man leave the camp for hunting. The auctor then rushes on the female he desires to secure, and beats her until she is senseless, when he carries her off. He has however to undergo a severe penalty for this. In the first place, the aggrieved tribe is allowed to select a certain number of companions or warors to strew their spears at the delinquent, who is only permitted to use the heathen or shield to defend himself. Should he escape from this, he is subjected to a still more severe trial: a man is selected to meet him, and such is armed with a wedge, one quietly presents his head and receives a desperate blow; this being inflicted, the other then cuts his head for the same discipline, and this continues until they reel about quite senseless. The blows inflicted would be sufficient to kill any other human being, but these people's skulls are of extraordinary thickness. After this the two tribes become friends, and pass a day or two in dancing their corroborees, and in exhibiting other demonstrations of friendship. Many attempts have been made to capture them, and make them of some use, but instances of their leaving their wild habits are rare. In some later numbers further accounts of the wild people will probably be given.

\* Mountain Pass, from Jamberoo, Ilawarra, & Bong Bong

Mountain Pass,  
from Jamberoo, Ilawarra,  
to Bong Bong

There is nothing of particular interest in this view, except the very beautiful scenery it represents. The Mountain is of considerable height, clothed to its summit by gigantic trees of the Eucalyptus, Cedar, &c., and Sheabs of great beauty, the soil being of the richest description. This Pass is very precipitous, and used only by the natives, who appear upon all occasions to make their paths pass over the summits of embankments, instead of making an easier a road by going round them.

\* Natives.

Natives

The Aborigine women are small in stature, illmade, and very plain, seldom having a robust appearance, and not so cleanly as the men. Their life is one of hardship, doing all the drudgery and hard work, the men seldom assisting. These people are never stationary, all the camp equipage and children are carried by the women, the men condescending to carry only their weapons of war, the spear, or tomahawk. Should the gin, or wife, have a child before the last is able to follow, the poor little wretch, unless some more humane than father or mother protects it, is put to death. Upon arrival at the ground for encampment, the women erect the gurumoyes, or huts, light the fire, fetch water, and cook what they may have for the evening repast. Their daily wanderings are over at sunset. No black fellow ventures abroad after dark, as they have an idea that evil spirits then roam about and afflict them with malady and disease.

\* Condors Creek.

Condors Creek.

This view of Condors Creek, in the district of Ilawarra, has nothing further to recommend it than being the favourite resort in the season, of the aborigine natives, for catching fish in their peculiar manner of supplying them. The sketch endeavours to show the manner in which they perform this novelty. A tree, called by them the Dog Tree, is stripped of its bark, and tied up in bundles, it is then dipped in the water and placed over a blazing fire, when it becomes hot, and emits a strong smell.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Extract from Report of a joint committee of the Royal Astronomical Society  
Received 20 April 1911



it is plunged into the water, the natives previously driving the fish to the mouth of the creek, and damming it up with bushes across, shortly the fish appear on the surface, as if dead, they are then thrown upon the bank, and soon recover, apparently none the worse for the dose administered.'

[Possibly located in the region of Shellharbour, as part of Condong's Swamp]

1838

Aboriginal Camp at Wollongong

9 February 1838: John Mater, a convict, is charged with being in the camp of the Aborigines at Wollongong.

Police Office Wollongong Feb 9th 1838

Present P Plunkett Esqr J P

John Mater per Haddock 1      Charged with being in the Camp of the Aborigines  
Tel. 1910 Luke

Capt. Sneyd, Mounted Police, deposes the night before last I heard a great noise amongst the Blacks where they had camped for the night near to the Police Stable. I went there about 11 o'clock and I found the Prisoner lying down in one of their Huts. He was drunk. The Blacks said that on account of White Men being with the Coss that caused a quarrel amongst them

Sworn this 9th Feby  
1838  
P P. J.P.

Sami. Sneyd

Guilty of drunkenness and  
amongst the Aborigines

4 Hours Stocks  
P Plunkett J P.

Return of Aborigines at Wollongong, Shoalhaven,

Ulladulla & Jervis Bay

7 May 1838: Return of Aborigines at Wollongong, Shoal Haven, Ulladulla, and Jervis Bay, compiled in association with the issue of blankets (ACNSW, 4/1103 3, 38/11103)

Court House Wollongong  
19th October 1838

Sir

With reference to your letters of the 7th January last No 38/4, I have the honor to forward a Return of the Aboriginal Natives of the District to whom blankets have been issued on the 7th of May last and subsequent periods, and to state, in consequence of the difficulty of collecting the aborigines

particularly those in the neighbourhood of Illawarra and Jarvis Bay, but twenty two blankets remain on hand at Shoalhaven.

To  
The Honourable  
The Colonial Secretary

I have the honor to be  
Your most obedient Servant  
P. Plunkett  
Police Magistrate.

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Wollongong on the 7th May 1838

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob. Age	No. of wives	Child		Place or District of Resent
					M	F	
1	Old Bundi	Wolmomy	57	1		1	Five Islands
2	Young Bundi	Tharmolong	30	1			Five Islands
3	Nil	Timbery	50	-	2	1	Five Islands
4	William Darby	Nutangle	20	1			Dapto
5	Bill	Wolanglo	27	1			Tapma
6	Frying Pan	Murumul	50	-		1	Tapma
7	Charley Hooker	Geroone	27	1			Hookers Creek
8	Doctor Throsby	Terong	22	1			Tom Thumb
9	Charcoal	Dowora	35	1		1	Little Bull
10	Panum-alla Tom	Unulta	22	1		1	Tapma
11	Nil	Warrong	50	1	2		Winnelong
12	Tom Morgan	Itthut	20	1			Malton Creek
13	Joy	Tumla	20				Ulladulla
14	Philip	Mugalong	30	1			Golla
15	Jonas	Bundalong	25	1	1		Geyangong
16	Puss	Upgood	20	1			Mogemorey
17	Tellboy	Ilamogo	27	1			Tapma
18	Jim	Jonangga	35		1		Tapma
19	Nil	Talash	50		2	2	Tapma
20	Big Jack	Musara	51	1			Tapma
21	Charley Hooker	Bethaway	24	1			Hookers Creek
22	Fisherman	Curomble	20				Five Islands
23	Paddy	Tibbary	20				Yalla
24	Timothy	Gurnangong	28	1	1	2	Mogemorey
25	Connor	Mango	20				Barnawarra
26	Charly	Niling	20				Barnakona
27	Nil	Nungle	50	1	2		Barnawarra
28	Young Jim	Gunnill	19				Tapma
29	Jack Ractey	Tunamidy	20				Barnawarra
30	Paddy	Gunang	22				Tapma
31	Nil	Mangay	20	1			Tapma
32	Bunny	Joubulby	20				Barnawarra
33	Billy	Tilonto	25	1			Mogemorey
34	Barash	Nil	22				Mogemorey
35	Jack	Borrick	40	1			Mogemorey
36	Harney	Wernah	24	1			Kama
37	Sawyer	Mumbunusdy	25				Kama
38	William	Nil	20	1			Kama
39	George	Widow	19				Kama
40	Captain Brooks	Munrag	50				Kama
41	Jack	Mule	20				Bull

40	Maria	Buanajo	18	-	1	1	Wollongong
41	Mary	Guiblong	55	-	2	1	Mojomorrow
45	Mary	Bewun	57	-			Mojomorrow
46	Biddy	Pana	19	-		1	Turonguera
47	Big Mary	Gunomolong	39	-	3	1	Tapna
48	Mary	Malmong	33	-	2	1	Tapna
49	Charlotte	Nersong	23	-	1		Gumgong
50	Mary	Cowher	35	-		2	Tumangula
51	Biddy	Negura	35	-		1	Tapna
52	Mary	Mobum	40	-		1	Canbou
53	Fanny	Titau	40	-			Mojomorrow
54	Bally	Yallagama	40	-		1	Wollongong
55	Mary	Muklow	40	-		1	Mogomours
					22	14	

+ There is confusion in this column - the names are masked and then their names are afterwards inserted.)

(All the above are designated as belonging to the Wollongong tribe. The following individuals belong to a variety of tribes, as designated thus (---) etc.)

56	Wendy (Wollongong tribe)	Kurnongton	18				Usadola
57	Mary (Karma tribe)	Morrong	45	Widow	1		Moorong
58	Billy (Wollongong tribe)	Eungel	20	do			Wollongong
59	Maria (Tom Thumb tribe)	Cudaid	20	Married			Wollongong
60	John Crook (Peterborough tribe)	Genboon	22				Lake
61	Thomas (Bull tribe)	Tommans	25	Widow			Bull
62	John (Dapo tribe)	Belbar	12				Dapo
63	Mary (Wollongong tribe)	Buddick	20	Married			Dapo
64	Poly (Dapo tribe)	Moorett	20	Married			Dapo
65	Jacky (Karma tribe)	Wumall	24	1	1		River
66	Bob (Irawana tribe)	Chi Tia	20	1	1		River
67	Biddy (Barawerang tribe)	Morin	20	Married			Irawana
68	Charlotte (Jamboro tribe)	Nalight	20	do	1		Irawana
69	Ni (Takipoly tribe)	Nanemu	20	do			Irawana
70	Mary (Takipoly tribe)	Moramul	20	Widow			Irawana

P. Plunkett  
Police Magistrate.

Men	49		
Women	25		
Boys	23		
Girls	27	Total	124 L. S. T.

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Shoal Haven 1838

No.	English Names	Native Names	Prob. Age	No. of Wives	Child M	Child F	Designation of Tribe
1	Tommy Putulock	Putulock	26	2			
2	Budgno	Budgno	26	1	1		
3	Mambungah	Mambungah			1	1	
4	Fatsoa	Fatsoa					
5	Namming	Namming					
6	Sem Tookumboy	Tookumboy	26	1			
7	Cabon Mick	Moocoon	26	1			
8	Giedy Boy	Towrang	26	2			
9	Boolan	Boolan	24		1	1	
10	Noddy	Nocnar	27	1			
11	Cabon Jack	Agaputte		1			
12	Goodgood	Goodgood	46	2	2	2	
13	Nunung Jack	Wesal		1			
14	Cooroboy	Cooroboy	35		1	1	
15	Cabon Jack	Coombung	46	1			
16	Leuds	Mekah					
17	Waleman Jack	Uinewoma	36	1			
18	Broughton	Toedool	40	2			
19	Tiger	Toomong	22				
20	Lion	Cerman	24				
21	Jackie	Madjung	26	1			
22	Daddy Brook	Yackine	46	1			
23	Charlie Kindal	Kindal	22	1	2	2	
24	Old Hammer	Sandagang	50	1	1	1	
25	Kennedy	Coonowl	22	1			
26	Old Daniel	Cundorgander					
27	Zoo	Jurnwal	14				
28	Dick	Bathong	24	1			
29	Malgah	Malgah					
30	Jack	Curral	36	1			
31	Charlie	Wakarvelle	36	1			
32	Jack	Mungerlong	32				
33	Sawyer	Ambooyogee	18				
34	Johnnie Ambit	Yambie	22	1			
35	Oban	Oban	38		1		
36	Mata Pemalo	-	46		1		
37	Mickas	Nymenunal	20				
38	George	Nuttoo	16				
39	Johnnie	Jonnedas	13				
40	Black Harry	Jager	26	2			
41	Petclar	Thincar		1	2	2	
42	Tom	Wurson	36	1	1	1	
43	James	Cunjilong	25	1			
44	Abram	Tibash	27				
45	Jackie	Menjack	26	1			
46	Fisherman Tom	Numer	46	1	2	1	
47	David	Cangool	39				
48	Old Major	Baumengang	40				
49	Old Davis	Goomecan	50				

50	Toby	Yahoworock	40	2	1	
51	Neilowong	Neilowong	45	1	1	
52	Tom	Mintah				
53	Old Tommy	Wantah	46	1		
	Men		52			
	Women		38			
	Boys		30			
	Girls		19	Total	139L.E.T	

[All the above are resident in the district of Ilowana, all the following are resident in the County of St Vincent]

1	Old Puffa	Kunjuck	50	4	3	Womges
2	Old Billy	Tatane	40			
3	Nelson	Nelson	25	1	1	
4	Jim Cotton	Yothie	22			
5	Uncle John	Mandegang	50		1	
6	Yellowman	Coopoboon	50	1	1	
7	Jackie	Nermit	24			
8	Patte	Wahang	23	1		
9	Wapping Joe	Coolumbie	24	1		
10	Patte Blint	Cattack	50	1	2	3
11	Smalite	Emelte	40	1	2	
12	Young Joe	Unjnock	24	1		
13	Johnnie	Burhamong	20			
14	Peter	Westang	26	1	2	
15	Tom Bailey	Nutambone	20	1		
16	Jackie	Dinnoch	23	1		
17	Winteyel	Tuckin	22			
18	Bobino	Bobino	26	1		
19	Harry	Cutgeen	25	1		
20	Long Charcoal	Mimberi	34	1	2	Numbia
21	Jim Charcoal	Mimberry	26	1	1	
22	Gurkin	Cunkin		Widow	1	
23	Charlie Goodnight	Naewig			1	
24	Pock o' com	Talmons	40	2	1	
25	Blackie Smith	Goodbever	46	1	1	
26	Catton Bill	Condance	30	1	1	
	Elouir	Elouir			2	Ulladullah
1	Joe	Buntinga	40	1	1	
2	Old Bob	Buncal	36	1	1	
3	Sawyer	PoolSingeo				
4	Tommy	Mimmath				
5	Wewight	Wewegit	60		1	
6	Winda	Winda			1	
7	Tom Brian	Broogna		1		
8	Big Charlie	Coopenderoo	40	1	1	
9	Johnson	Selion			1	
10	Solomon	Chalkin				
11	Billy	Mashimingo				
12	Cundish	Cundish				
13	Old Peter	Bundish		2	2	
14	Joe	Jukqueeo	20	1		
15	James	Mimcombi	20			
16	Jackie	Boolman		1		
17	Tiboonoo	Tiboonoo	23			
18	Young Patte	Pundeemong				

21	Pandis	Pandis	6				
22	Moorungula	Moorungula					
23	Jerry	Bergi					
24	Bobby	Bendik	18				
25	Charlie	Minngal	36	1			
26	Jack Louder	Sarooh	36	1			
1	Mimmo	Mimmo	40	1	2	2	Jannie Bay
2	Premooglie	Premooglie	40			1	
3	Pemarathin Jack	Gimli	36	1			
4	Solomon	Boorong	34				
5	Jack	Gimbora	38	1	2	2	
6	Cobon Tom	Currootool	33	1			
7	Old Terry	Bullring	46	1			
8	Chick up	Heiloch	35	1			
9	Calamunda	Calamunda	39		1		
10	Bob	Brandoon	35	1			
11	Mr William	Calicong	32	1			
12	Dick	Weygoody			1	1	
13	Old Miller	Old Munden	40				
14	Old Baby	Bimby	45	1			
15	Bill Davis	Tindas	38	1			
16	Tom Davis	Cumbulka	34	1			
17	Harry	Bungarree	30	1		1	
18	Old Mungee Mungee		50	1	1		
19	Bob	Bugne	25	1	2	1	
20	Cap. Cook	Cambenna	20				
21	Bongas	Wilmumba	16				
22	Caloo	Premooglie	35	1			
23	Dunn	Pooroong	27	1			
24	Simon	Simon	15				
25	Charlie	Wilmumba	1		1		

P Plunkett  
Police Magistrate

#### Reminiscences of Alexander Berry

May 1838 'Recollections of the Aborigines by Alexander Berry 1838' (ACNSW, Supreme Court Papers, Coll 294, Part B, pp.567-662)

The following reminiscences by Alexander Berry were initially recorded in May 1838, and later updated for publication in 1871 (refer also under that date).

Alexander Berry was a prominent Sydney merchant who had established a settlement at Cookengama, on the Shoalhaven River, in 1822. He eventually claimed over 10000 acres of land in the area, and his family held the property until the late of the century. Berry was relatively accommodating to the local Aborigines. In everything but granting them land, and did not chase them away by force of gun as was so common in other areas of Australia.

These reminiscences, combined with the accurate blanket issue / census compiled during the 1800s by both Alexander and David Berry, give a rare glimpse into the post-contact Aboriginal society at Shoalhaven.

## Recollections of the Aborigines

By

Alexander Berry

May, 1838.

The last Native in whom I took an interest was old Bungaree in the year 1819. He was a particular favourite with Governor Macquarie, who created him a chief, gave him a farm, and Government men vacated from the store to cultivate it. Bungaree was a man decidedly of considerable natural talents, very faithful & trustworthy, but had all the defects of his race, in consequence of which all the trouble & expense bestowed by the humane Macquarie to ameliorate his constitution proved abortive, as in every other instance.

About Christmas in that year, poor Bungaree was severely beaten in a drunken brawl by his countrymen. He was brought to my house with a severe wound in the head and a fracture of the fore-arm. I dressed his wound, bound up his arm, & gave instructions that he might be taken care of in the kitchen. There he remained several days until he recovered from the bruises. The moment however he was able to move he escaped from the house as from a jail, and disconnected the arm from the bandage. Some weeks after he came back. On examining his arm I found that the ends of the fractured bones had healed without uniting, giving the appearance of a joint, and it remained for the rest of his life.

About the same time I had a great deal of conversation with another intelligent native at the country house of Mr Coxey, the late Surveyor General. I asked him if they could not erect houses for themselves like the miners' huts which would afford them better protection from the weather than a sheet of bark. He replied that they no doubt could do so, and that such flats would afford them better shelter, but that it would not suit their mode of life. That it was necessary for them constantly to change their place of residence in search of the means of subsistence, and that their means of subsistence had become more scanty since the country had been occupied by white men. That the sheep and cattle cut all the grass in consequence of which Kangaroos had become very scarce, and that they now lived chiefly on squirrels and opossums & such small animals.

I went to Shoal Haven in June 1822 in order to form an establishment. At that time the Natives at that place bore a very bad character and were considered very hostile to the whites. Some years previously the Shoal Haven River was frequented by cedar cutters from Sydney. In the end the natives either killed all the cutters or forced them away. One day my friend James Norton thus addressed me:

"I hear you are going to take a farm near Jerra Bay. Is it true?"

I replied in the affirmative.

"Are you mad," he retorted. "The natives will eat you."

I however entertained no fears, and had no doubt would be able to conciliate them. I was even so chimerical as to be sanguine that I would be able to civilize them.

I went down in a small cutter (15 tons) and took along with me two natives - one named Broughton, born at Shoal Haven & who had accompanied the late Mr Throsby on several journeys into the bush, the other a tame native named Charcoal who was a good boatman.

On the evening previous to my departure I observed this fellow moving on stilts with great rapidity past my door as if he had some important business to perform. I considered his eccentricities as a

mark of intelligence and beckoned to him. He was informed that I was to sail to Shoal Haven in the morning. I asked him to accompany me. He instantly forgot his own business, informed me that he was a good sailor & would be very glad to accompany me. He stopped in the kitchen all night. Next morning he was rugged out in sailors clothes and appointed *pro forma* Mate of the cutter *Blanch*.

When we arrived near the Shoal Haven Heads it fell calm, and we got the boats ahead of the vessel. The River emptied itself into the sea through a low sandy beach and there is a bar at the entrance, but I had heard that vessels of 70 or 80 tons had passed, and therefore I imagined there would be water enough for a ship of 15 tons. When the boats however got to the back of the surf they returned, observing that it would be unsafe as they saw every surf breaking up the sand. On entering the vessel Davidson the Master, a young man whose life I had saved years before in New Zealand, urged me very much to proceed. I directed him however to take the vessel into Crook Haven, a small place 3 miles to the southward, where we would examine the bar at our leisure. He persisted however in saying that the surf was nothing, that it was not near so bad as Dublin bar, and that we were deceived by the glitter of the sun upon the waves.

During the dispute the vessel gradually approached the surf, & Turner, one of the men, observed, "Davidson is right, the nearer we get, the less the surf appears."

I tacked again and there appeared a small channel abreast of the vessel. "Well Davidson," I observed, "since you are so urgent you may take the boat if you can get volunteers, and sound the channel - but take care to keep out of the breakers."

In a moment the boat was manned. I looked at Davidson as he passed over the side - there was a cold flush upon his face. I thought it resembled the purple hue of death and immediately recanted the consent I had given. I ran up to the mast head and again saw the surf breaking across what a few minutes ago was a smooth channel. I called out for all hands to shout for the return of the boat. I waved my hat from the mast head for their return. They heard & saw us, and absolutely turned round the boat, but after disputing some time among themselves again turned round the head of the boat toward the surf.

I again went up the mast in breathless anxiety. The passage was again smooth & I saw the boat passing along with a wall of breakers on the right hand side & on the left. I observed to a person near me they had got into a smooth place & hoped it may not prove a delusive calm. I had ceased shouting when a mighty roller rose up behind the boat. As it moved along the boat was hid from my view, but in a few seconds I saw it on top of the wave. A second wave rolled along and the boat was again invisible. In a few seconds the crows appeared in the air, and as the wave passed the boat appeared again & the men clinging to her sides.

My first impulse was to leap into the little Dingo and get to their assistance. A moments reflection convinced me it was madness. We then got out our sweeps & pull for Crook Haven and endeavour to assist them by land.

I forgot to mention that a third roller again rendered the boat invisible and when I passed we only saw two men out of the clinging to the boat.

On our way to Crook Haven we saw a lame & naked blackman supported by a stick moving along the beach. He reached Crook Haven at the same time as the cutter - it was Charcoal. We sent the Dingo for him & he came on board.

"It is a bad job," he said. "They are all drowned."

Charcoal informed us that when I called them they were all desirous to come back except Davidson, who strongly urged the men to proceed. Charcoal told them that if they did not go back they would be drowned. At length Turner, the man who spoke before, said, "Davidson is now our master & is the best judge. Let us obey him."

They then put round the boat, when Charcoal stripped of all his clothes and recommended them all to do the same as they would have to swim for their lives, that he was not afraid being a good swimmer; that none of them would take his advice, & that he was sure they were all drowned, particularly Davidson who had on two pairs of Trowsers.

Assistance was immediately sent along the beach, and after some time they brought back two living men, one of whom was Turner, but the bodies of Davidson & the other man were never found.

They confirmed Charcoal's account of the Matter - that when the boat was upon Davidson & the other man both left & took to swimming, but they being unable to swim stuck to the boat. Then when the 3rd wave struck her it turned her over on her bottom. They then contrived to get inside, & although full of water she still floated & was driven ashore by the surf.

These two men were much bruised by the surf but neither of them were permanently injured, & Turner had since become a very noted character in the Bay of Islands New Zealand.

This tragic adventure upset all my arrangements, & therefore I immediately put spades into the hands of my men and their first operation was to cut a canal between Creek Haven & Shoal Haven River.

The Natives all the while kept silent. We went one morning to the banks of the Shoal Haven River & observed some Natives on the opposite side. Charcoal immediately stripped himself and held up his hands, when they launched their Canoes & came over to us, & from this time forward the other natives gradually began to show themselves.

Charcoal was my regular boatman, but Broughton on the other hand was my Landman & I must speak of him next.

My intention was originally to have fixed myself upon a high bank to the north side of the River about six miles from the entrance. I therefore determined to explore the country while my men were cutting the canal. Having launched the Dingy into the River I immediately proceeded to the spot with Broughton & another Black whom he called his mate, accompanied by Mr Hamilton Hume.

On reaching the place, I found only a narrow border of dry land with an inflammable swamp behind. After this unpleasant discovery I came back to the boat & set down at the fire. In the course of the evening I observed to Mr Hume that the place would not do for an establishment. Hume replied - "If I were in your place I would never give up the piece of land."

Broughton who was listening to the conversation smiled & said - "I wonder to hear you Mr Hume" I replied - "what do you mean Broughton, do you think this place will not do for a farm?"

"No," he replied, "Besides being all swamp, there is no water unless in very deep holes, and when the cattle went to drink they would fall in and drown themselves."

"This is all very singular. You told [me] Broughton, in Sydney, there was plenty of fine land at Shoal Haven."

He replied " & so there is, but this is not the place."

"Why then did you bring me here?"

"I did not bring you here, you said you wanted to go to Balang (the name of the place) and I only accompanied."

"Very well Broughton, tomorrow you must take me to the right place," and next day I put myself under his guidance. & he showed me a different description of country, but the place he recommended was the spot where he was born at the head of a long creek now called Broughton Creek. He told us that at this place the creek became fresh & divided into two branches. That there

was an elevated forest range that divides the two branches. That I ought to build my house & stock yard on the range, & that there was a clear meadow in front where I could cultivate maize.

As this was all some distance we returned to our encampment in order to rest ourselves for the expedition. Our plan was to walk with Broughton to the head of the creek in order to examine the whole extent of the country, & I sent up our provisons in the Dingo. The Dingo was put in charge of Billy - a boy of sixteen, Broughton's mate - and he got another boy of the Natives about the same age to assist. This lad had never before seen a white man & I mention the circumstance to show that I began by placing complete confidence in the natives, for I could see that they were proud of the confidence.

It was late in the evening when we reached the head of the creek. We were all very hungry & expected to find the Dingo, but behold no Dingo was there. My foolish confidence was now finely illustrated for putting so much provisons in charge of two boys, one of whom was a mere savage & quite a stranger. Broughton expressed his hopes that his mate would behave properly, but another blackman who was along with us gave it as his opinion that the boys after becoming hungry had eaten their bellyfulls & gone to sleep.

We sat down on the bank & made a fire, and I even began to think that we must go supperless to bed. About sun set we observed the Dingo coming round a point. The poor boys were quite tired with their long pull and had touched nothing and gave us a most amazing account of the voyage. They said that the creek was very long and very crooked, and at one place there was a long narrow peninsula, and that they wasted a good deal of time in disputing whether they should haul the boat across instead of pulling round.

Next morning we found the place to agree exactly with Broughton's description. I now made up my mind about the plan of the establishment, but as the district was almost completely barricaded with almost impassable brush it became necessary to find some road to bring cattle, and here again I had recourse to Broughton. He collected 2 or 3 of his Irab & his brother Brogher & were accompanied with Mr Hume to cut a road up a range with which he was acquainted. Being furnished with Tomahawks they wrought very hard & in the course of 4 or 5 days cut a road up the mountain.

Before the road was finished Brogher began to tire and threatened to leave. Mr Hume shot a pheasant & gave it to Brogher to his supper to induce him to stop. He appeared to assent, roasted & eat the pheasant. Bye & Bye he looked at the moon which was near the full, observed that it was a fine night and therefore he would take advantage of the moon light and go home to his wife. Broughton was very indignant at him, & told him that he would rather cut all the road himself than have his assistance.

The natives continued very shy and few showed themselves. I gave no concern about it, only heated such as came to us with kindness. One day a large party well armed arrived from Jarvis Bay, and sat down in the neighbourhood of our encampment, but did not come near us according to the native custom until they received an invitation. I went to them, asked for their Chief - an old gentleman of the name of Yager - & we became immediately great friends. He had the organ of devotion highly developed in his head and from his own account had much intercourse with the visionary world.

About this time the Chief of the place where I was cutting the canal - name Wajn - came in. He was a stout elderly gentleman of a mild, sedate appearance & holly as Esan himself. He informed me that a piece of clear meadow ground on the west of the canal was called Numba. I asked him who claimed it. He replied that all he knew about it was that it was in the same state in the days of his grandfather. Of course I made him my friend and promised to give him a Brass Plate when he came to Sydney.

In about a month I completed the canal so far that a moderate sized boat could pass through into the Shoal Haven River at high tide, cleared a small spot on the ridge on the north shore of the River, and transferred with the assistance of the natives who had now become familiar, my stores to a small log building at that place.

The natives called the range Gilpigen, but as it is at the foot of a hill 936 feet high called Cooangatta, I called the place after the mountain as the more prominent object.

It now became necessary for me to go to Sydney to make further arrangements. My only 2 sailors as before mentioned had been drowned in attempting to cross the Shoal Haven River, and the young man whom I had brought down as an overseer was much alarmed at the idea of being left with a few white men, all prisoners in a corner 50 miles from any other establishment (Wollongong), and surrounded by wild natives.

I therefore determined to take the cutter back to Sydney with a crew of the aborigines, fortunately however, Mr Throsby of Bongbong sent down a white man who was a good bush ranger, accompanied by a friendly native in order to find me out. I therefore engaged this man to go along with me.

My crew consisted of this man, Wajin Chief of Shoal Haven, and my willing friend Yager the Chief of Jervis Bay. Charcoal the tame native also returned with me. Broughton however being a bush native disliked the sea and determined to go back by Land to meet me in Sydney in order to assist in bringing down some cattle. My friend Mr Hume accompanied him to Agipin.

Broughton had brought down with him a young man of about 18 named Billy, a relation of his own whom he called his mate, and he left him in charge of the place during his absence, explaining to his tribe that the establishment was termed under his particular protection. That they must all behave in a friendly manner to the white people and obey his lieutenant Mr Billy during his absence.

I got safe to Sydney with my singular crew after a tedious passage occasioned by foul winds. During the voyage we saw a large ship beating up and making the same tracks as ourselves. My white assistant wished me very much to go along side to beg that they would lend us a sailor to assist us, but the weather being foul I declined doing so, as I had a particular aversion to go along side of a large ship in such a plight. Thereafter always when we neared the vessel I put about and stood in there.

I had been several days without cleaning myself, and went below to do so. At this time we were standing on different tacks. My mate the white man immediately quietly wore the best. The large ship did the same and stood towards us. I took up a book and began to read. Time passed without observation. The white man called down that the ship was close to us, and on enquiry I found that we were standing on the same tack.

I said "Immediately put about."

"Oh," he says, "they have lowered a boat and it is nearly alongside."

Much mortified - unshaven and unshaven - I packed my head up thru the skuttle, and at the same moment a boat with the Captain came along side.

The ship was the Convict ship Asia, Capt. Reed, with whom I was slightly acquainted. He insisted upon my coming on board, gave a hawser to the Blanch - in order to tow her - sending also some of his sailors on board.

On stepping on board the Asia the first man I saw was Mr or Major Mudie, whom I had seen in London in the house of Sir Charles Forbes, and who was coming out with his family as a settler.

It appeared that being delayed by foul winds they were naturally anxious to speak to the little vessel, in the expectation of getting some potatoes or other vegetables, but when they found that the boat always stood inshore when they neared it, their curiosity was excited. They thought we must be runaway convicts.

Mudie's daughters were quite surprised at my uncouth & wretched appearance and savage & naked crew. I explained that no disaster had happened, that I was a mere settler who had come

back after establishing a farm, & that I had slept under a tree for the last month, and that if their papa meant to become a settler he must do the same. They cried all night at the prospect before them. I made very light of it & wondered how they could expect to find homes ready made in the wild bush.

I returned to the place in about a month, and went overland with Broughton by way of Bong Bong. I found every thing well and many natives about and all of them quite friendly.

Mr Billy obeyed his chief and remained with the overseer during Broughton's absence, living in the same hut, and waiting upon the overseer as Cook & House Servant. This however was too much restraint to be long endured, although he was well clothed and well fed, and therefore he left the hut and he took himself to his usual mode of life on the return of Broughton.

Previous to my return Wigan and Yager had returned, with a suit of clothes and Brass plates - black badges of nobility - & with many wonderful stories of the now discovered country of Sydney.

But among the crowd of admiring natives there appeared a rusty, shavelled, & insatiable old Gentleman, who claimed the rank of Chief of Shoal Haven, alleging that he was the Feudal Chief of the very place where I had made my hut, and that he also must be invested with an order of nobility. The poor overseer was alarmed at his vehemence, and told him that Wigan being now King, it could not be helped, that it was his own fault in not putting in his claim sooner, and we could not make two Kings. Then he observed - I will not allow you to remain. Pack up your alls and be gone.

The overseer offered to make him a Constable, & assured him that I would get him a Constable's Plate (this is square, a chief's plate is like a full moon). This he indignantly refused. The overseer then offered to make him a settler, observing that I was only a settler myself. He agreed to this on condition that he was made a Free Settler, but such was his impatience that it was necessary to give him a ladder plate until a better could be procured. When it came down I got the blacksmith to make an iron Plate & engrave upon it that he was the Free Settler of Shoal Haven, and this plate he wore for the rest of his days, and in future was always known by blacks & whites under the name of Old Settler.

From this time by kind treatment we have been invariably good friends with the natives. It is true that they used to steal for the first years of the establishment, a good deal of any crops of maize and potatoes, and we were obliged to watch them, but the Cockatoos in a year or two discovered that we began to plant maize and proved even more destructive than the blacks, & at least as cunning, for they soon learned the effects of the gun and used to place Watchers on the trees to give notice to the others of the approach of any whiteman. They called out. Their friends continued their depredations with more eagerness. When he came near they again called out, & it is curious that if he had a gun all the natives took flight, but if he was unarmed they continued in defence.

The blacks also used to spear our pigs in the bush. I have never heard however that they molested either the cattle or the calves, and for many years their depredations have been so slight as not to be noticed. The Cockatoos however have continued, and experience has rendered them still more expert thieves. There has however been a constant necessity to watch the maize when it attains a certain state of maturity, and this no doubt has also protected it indirectly from the depredations of the natives.

After gaining the confidence of the blacks I used hard to get them to adopt habits of industry by paying them for their labour, but generally one day's labour was enough to tire them, however slight. I have seen however some of them live with and assist favorite free men for weeks together, and on one occasion Broughton acted as a Bricklayers labourer for some weeks. One day as he was leaving his work, I observed him replying in a very indignant manner to a black woman. On enquiry he told me she was his cousin, and had been jemming him & in the end told me with some reluctance that she reproached him with working every day like a prisoner, and that he despised her remarks. Next morning however he disappeared and never more acted in the capacity of a Bricklayers Labourer.

I have mentioned his relation Billy leaving his post of hut keeper to the overseer - after some weeks he came back naked & hungry. I observed:

"Well Billy, I expected you were to have become like a white man but am sorry to find that you have again become a wild bush native."

"Oh no sir, I am no more wild than formerly, but I have become a ~~desert~~ man again."

Poor Billy was killed some years after at Penamatta in a drunken fray by some of his country men

I recollect observing a young native who was assisting some free men to clear a piece of ground. I told him that he wrought as well as any of the whites. "Yes," he replied, "Byo & Byo I mean to make a contract myself to clear a piece of ground, and then I shall go to Sydney & get my money out of the office like the others." In the present instance he lived with the white men, eat with them, and they gave him their old clothes to wear. He at length tired of such a regular life & never made his contract.

Their bodily frame is not fitted for labour and their inherent disposition is to wander, consequently they are very fond of going with intruders and deliver them faithfully. They delight very much in pulling in boats as this indulges their locomotive propensities.

When I last came to Sydney from Shoal Haven, the vessel was laying six miles from my house. The tide rendered it necessary for me to leave my house at one o'clock in the morning. My crew consisted of Black people, a great condescension on their part, as they have a great aversion either to early rising or having their rights not disturbed. They are naturally a kind hearted and generous people. They will divide or even give away their last morsel to a stranger, and much as they value clothing will do the same with their clothes.

One of my men some years ago lost himself in the bush and was nearly starved. He met a native on one of his own journeys. The poor native put him in the road and gave him all his provisons.

Last year I met the same native at Bonlma on my way to Goulburn. I was surprised to see him, & the surprise was mutual. He told me that his wife was a Benniman Lady and that he had brought her up to see her relations. I requested that he would take charge of a letter to Shoal Haven & deliver it on his return. After a few minutes he brought back the letter & requested I would wrap it up in a bit of waste paper to keep it clean. I was afterwards informed that he immediately went to Shoal Haven with the letter & again returned for his wife, thus voluntarily taking a journey of at least 50 miles through a rugged mountainous country.

I saw the same man lately at Shoal Haven. He spoke about the dry weather & great want of rain. Many of the natives were affected with the influenza. He observed they would not get entirely better until we had plenty of rain. I told him that the Deity - pointing upwards - was so offended with the natives on account of their allowing the white men to cohabit with their women. He replied it is too bad of the Blacks, but that the white men were equally bad. He observed all the Blacks now know that there is a God in Heaven, and that there is a future state of rewards and punishments. Some of the blacks told me that the Catholic priest had been baptising their children, but they did not seem to understand the nature of the Ordinance.

For many years I have reaped my harvest on the principle of free Labour. Many of the white men employed Blacks to assist, deriving some small advantage from their labour, but now they have become more knowing and have for some years reaped on their own account, so as to receive the full benefit of their labour. They did not however work any last harvest, observing that they were more or less indisposed with the influenza.

My brother assisted 2 families to build comfortable huts for themselves, but when I was last down I found the huts deserted, and a piece of ground they had farmed in as a garden uncultivated. They were pleased at first with the novelty of the thing, but in the end a fixed residence did not suit their locomotive propensities.

There is certainly a considerable change in their ideas since I first knew them. The men & women used to walk about stark naked without any sense of shame. Now they all continue to have some covering, and I think the tyrants would have no much shame in appearing in a state of nudity as any white woman.

At the time Coldest Arthur was hunting down the Aborigines in Van Diemens Land, he employed some New Holland Natives to assist - these belonged to the Shoal Haven Tribe. About six years ago a number of them landed in Sydney off a vessel from Hobart Town. They were well dressed & appeared quite respectable and each of them had a trunk or Portmanteau. They immediately came to my house and requested I would give them store room for their luggage. One of them said that they had succeeded in getting in the natives & pacifying the island, but that the natives of V D Land were such a stupid race that there was no hope of civilizing them.

There is great difficulty in the savage state of rearing children, therefore as a wise provision of nature the organ of Love of Offspring is highly developed in the women, who are generally very kind mothers and remarkably fond of their children.

A number of years ago during a very dry season an old Man named County installed himself in the office of waterman, to bring good water from a spring at some distance, and was highly indignant when any other native interfered with his office, and his old wife to whom he was much attached also made herself free of the kitchen. About this time a convoluted woman was sent down as a servant, and this woman had a child in her arms. An immediate attachment sprung up between the child and the old Mrs County. When its mother poissled or beat it, it always took refuge with the old black woman, and if at any time the mother of the child gave it any ill usage the old woman used to cry bitterly.

I used to hear formerly that women used to strangle white children as soon as they were born, but this not the case now, for they are equally fond of the pale-faced children as of the others, and what is curious the husband of the woman seems equally fond of them as of the black ones. The cross-bred are distinctly an improved race.

It is very seldom that any bushrangers appear at Shoal Haven and when they do they are generally brought in by the Natives.

Some months ago 2 men escaped from Mr Sparks place at the Kangaroo. His overseer gave notice of the escape at Shoal Haven and next day they were brought in by the blacks. They informed me that they had heard of the escape, and suspected the 2 men to be runaways as they could not give a good account of themselves, & observing the men tried to deceive them with a plausible story, but that they ordered them to walk to Shoal Haven and that if they tried to escape they would spear them as they spear Kangaroos. The men confessed and congratulated themselves that they were captured before they had time to do any amount of harm & were much ashamed on being taken by the blacks - it is singular that they have behaved well since then.

The blacks used to have their medical practitioners. They generally used certain spells but some of their practice was highly judicious.

Shoal Haven was much infested with snakes. One day a man was bitten by a very venomous one. Old Dr Greenwell was near. They applied for his assistance. He examined the sufferer & enquired about the kind of snake. He then replied that he could do nothing, and that the man must die. They requested him to try. Replied it could be of no use, and by making a useless attempt he would risk his medical reputation.

There happened to be a young Doctor present who had still to make his medical reputation. He addressed the sufferer, "I fear you must die, but if you will allow me I will do my best to save your life." The sufferer gladly assented.

The Doctor immediately bound a tight ligature above the wound, and then commenced sucking. He spit the first mouthful into his hand & examined it - the blood was black and he silently & mounthfully shook his head. He then renewed his operations & sucked with all his might. After a

considerable interval he started to his test, probably distinguishing a difference in the taste of the blood. He spit again into his hand. He smiled & addressed his patient: "But you die!" The cure was complete. The overseer who had been deeply tied to the medical profession witnessed the whole and I respect the story as he told it.

Some years ago when I was at Shoal Haven an old man (a native) was found murdered near one of the men's huts. On enquiry I was informed that he had been living there for some days, and that when the men went to their work he remained. Then found him dead on their return, and that his body had been taken for interment by his friends, and [I] sent a boat for the body & had it taken out of the coffin (some shreds of bark), that I might examine the wounds. From the appearance I concluded that he had been murdered by a black man. I told this to his friends & mentioned that I was at first afraid he had been murdered by the white people, but they all agreed that it was done by a blackman. We examined the spot. Their acute eyes discovered the deadly tool of a native spear-sticking the place where the old man was lying, the marks of a struggle and then the marks of the foot of the bush native running away after the act was committed. The murderer was never discovered.

Some of the natives have great personal courage. When last at Shoal Haven I saw an old man whom, not having seen for years, I considered dead. I had often heard his story, but he again told it me.

Nearly 20 years ago, before I went to Shoal Haven, some natives plundered some maize belonging to a colored settler in Illooms. The settler armed himself with a newly ground cutlass and went in search of the natives. He discovered their camp when they were roasting the maize. They all took to flight. One man alone began to defend himself with a tomahawk, but the white man struck him a blow upon the shoulder which nearly separated the arm from the shoulder blade when the tomahawk fell to the ground. The white savage (man) now armed a blade at the head of the black one. The black put up his other arm as a guard to his head and the blow of the cutlass - which must have been very sharp - cut off the forearm as clean as if it had been done by a Surgeon. The poor black now lay avery, but when at a little distance turned round, & shook his bloody stump in the face of the white savage. After some time he dropped from loss of blood, but his friends carried him off bound up and dressed his wounds, but he has only a stump on the one side & the other arm hangs nearly powerless.

I observed to him how happens it that your right arm was used as a guard while you fought with the left - "Because," he replied, "I am a left handed man!"

The poor fellow spoke without any apparent ill feeling towards his opponent who still lives & thrives - the natives used to call him Saacy William and some of them like him to this day. Both whites & blacks seem kind to the old man, but I believe he never goes to Sydney and seems to think although the greatest sufferer that his own conduct was not free from blame...

I shall now mention a few circumstances of the subsequent life of my noble friends.

Old Yager continued my friend to the end of his days but for some years has chiselled with feathers, and I believe did not have any hair to inherit his honour.

Chascol, whom I had appointed master of the Blanch, after a few trips tried of being well clothed and well fed, and after a few trips left the vessel, but he left it as a friend and used to occasionally to visit Shoal Haven. After some time he married a young woman of the place. There was a considerable disparity in years, but the match was otherwise very appropriate. Chascol was lame, his leg having been broken to pieces by a cart wheel, and his wife had no toes. It appears that when she was an infant her Mother had gone to sleep one cold night too near the fire, and the toes of the infant were found next morning to have been burnt off.

Chascol was rather of an irascible temper. One day he found it necessary to give some correction to his wife, in consequence of which she died, and the master of the gal complained to the tribe. Chascol was summoned to appear on a certain day to stand punishment. I was then at Shoal

Haven but the trial took place of some miles distant from my house, and under the circumstances Charcoal did not choose to visit me, but I was informed by the natives (his party) of the result.

Every thing was prepared. The natives were assembled. Charcoal took his place & the father was there to demand justice. Before the trial commenced Mr Charcoal arose, and requested to say a few words. He acknowledged that he was justly summoned to stand punishment for that he had unfortunately killed his wife, but that in so doing he was more unfortunate than culpable, for that he deeply loved his deceased wife and deplored her loss, and merely intended to give her such gentle correction as a husband is entitled to give his wife more, but that in his passion in consequence of some provocation had got the better of his reason. That he had struck too hard & she died, for which he was now ready to take the consequences, & even to die if it should so happen - a thing but too likely from his being lame and not possessing the activity of another man.

That however he severely felt for the father of his wife who from the want of temper had lost an affectionate daughter and therefore besides giving him all the satisfaction which their Laws and Customs demanded, he now desired to make him any other poor compensation which he had the power of doing. He had therefore brought down a fine new blanket from Sydney which he laid at the feet of the father in Law and requested him to accept.

This speech being ended there was a silence. At length the father arose and addressed to assembly to the following purpose.

"My Friends, and countrymen, I am much obliged to you all for the readiness with which you have met my call and assembled here this day to do me justice, but you have all heard what has been said by my son in law, and how he laments the loss of his wife, and I think that you must all agree with me that he has been more unfortunate than culpable. He took up the blanket and displayed it to the court. See what a fine blanket he has given me. He is really a fine courageous fellow, and I really feel for his affliction on account of the loss of his wife. I am situated and I do not wish the affair to proceed any further, & as my poor son in law is so afflicted for the loss of his wife I desire him to be comforted. I have still another daughter and as soon as she is of age I will give her for a wife."

The assembled tribe merrily dispersed, and when they told the story at Shoal Haven they unanimously observed that the father was a mercenary old fellow to sell his daughter for a blanket. I know not whether the second marriage took place. I did not see much of Charcoal after this occurrence. He died a number of years ago.

Old Settler lived a good many years and always wore his iron plate. He continued to the end of his days a warlike, invincible, but friendly old man. He had a wife & family of children to whom he was much attached.

One morning he was camped with his tribe at the foot of my house. I heard a dreadful screaming and went out to see what was the matter. I saw Old Settler in a frantic rage, with a battle-axe in the one hand & a spear in the other and his poor old wife standing trembling at a few paces distance. He was talking to her with great violence, and every now & then threatened to transfuse her with his spear. I looked at the frantic old savage, and then at the other natives who were all sitting in groups with their different families, with anxious countenances, but with averted eyes and preserving a profound silence. My presence seemed to disconcert Settler, but it did not appear to notice him. I quietly enquired at one of his tribe what was the matter. The man replied "It is a family affair and not our business." I remained for some time & followed their example. If I had interfered most likely in his rage he would have thrown his spear in defiance. After a time his rage expended itself and he sat down. Next day I saw him as friendly with his old wife as usual.

Some years after, his oldest son came to my house in Sydney and asked to speak with me. "You know me Mr Berry. I am Tommy Pottick, the oldest son of Old Settler. You know Old Settler was your friend and you gave him a plate. He is now dead. I am his heir and now the Chieftain of the Tribe and you must give me a plate."

I told Patrick to come back in a few days for his place, and began to think what description I could put on it. I determined that he should be designated as the son and Heir of Old Seeler. As if he read my thoughts he called me back & said he had one more word to say. That I must not say any thing about his father on his place. These people never mention the names of the Dead and it is an offence to do so in their presence. Of course I attended to his wishes. Tommy still lives to enjoy his Honour of chief, and as Wajin and Yager have both died without heirs he has rather an extensive authority and is a good deal respected amongst his countrymen.

Wajin lived a good many years happily with his wife, although there was no family. He however, although a quiet good tempered man, had also occasionally his family troubles. One day I looked into a hut and saw Wajin seated by the side of his wife - or the Queen as they used to call her. The Lady looked very sulky, and on looking more closely I saw her face & head covered with blood, and she was cut to the bone.

"What is this Wajin who has dared to touch the sacred face of the Queen?"

He replied "I did it."

"Shame Wajin. Why did you do it?"

"Oh," he says, "it is nothing. I only given her a slight correction, a few gentle taps upon the head with a Waddy. She was very silly and made a great noise with her tongue. She would not cease from scolding until I broke her head. But I was merciful in the correction I gave her."

The Lady evidently was not accustomed to this kind of discipline, for she looked very sulky, and it cost Wajin a great deal of trouble before he succeeded in making her forget the affray. Poor Wajin some years after got very drunk in Sydney. His tribe carried him to their camp at Woollomolloo, but he died in the course of the night.

Broughton was first appointed a Constable & afterwards the chief of his own tribe, and supplied with slops and rations. He generally staid at Shoal Haven but sometimes he used to disappear without any warning, but his slops and rations were always forthcoming when he chose to claim them.

He had 3 wives Mary & Charlotte. The first was the elder & entitled to all the remains of his principal substance, but the other was the best beloved. Both were black elders. He worked at the back siding of Mary but was very jealous of Charlotte.

One day I looked into her hut and he was sitting at his meal between his ladies. The head of Charlotte was broken and her face was bloody.

"Who has done this Broughton?"

"I did it," he replied. "She slept from horse last night, but where I cannot find out."

I replied, "this is too bad of Charlotte. I hope she will never do so again. You must not beat her anymore."

Broughton looked displeased at my meddling in his family affairs & I did not interfere further. Next day he disappeared. Some years after some fresh cause of jealousy arrived & he beat her so unmercifully that she died, but he bitterly lamented his loss, and for a long time after when I spoke of the after he used to cry.

Mary still lives and he has got another wife. He does not like to work but he renders himself useful in many ways and is considered as a kind of privileged person on the place, and his slops and rations are always forthcoming.

He says that he feels that he is now getting old. That the bush does not suit him as formerly, and boasts he means to build a house. He has one daughter who is married and two other children whom he acknowledges, but they are white.

All the Shoal Haven Blacks consider themselves as my people, but I find it necessary to let do as they please as they cannot be restrained. I might as well attempt to teach the birds of the air not to fly as to restrain their wanderings.

Upon making careful enquiry lately at Shoal Haven both from themselves and from some intelligent white people who have been long on the place, their numbers I am sorry to say have greatly decreased since I came to Shoal Haven.

A good many have died in Sydney in consequence of drinking, a few in their native lands of violence, and a good many from measles. The natives themselves told me that a good many also had left the Colony in ships. At present there are a good many young people & children amongst them and they seem fine & healthy people.

I enclose a list of their numbers.

One candidate more - Tommy Patalick had a younger brother named Monkey - from his appearance. Upwards of 12 months ago he came to Sydney. One night he dreamt that Red, a Shoal Haven native then at Shoal Haven, bit his throat. On awaking in the morning he had a sore throat. He returned to Shoal Haven and lingered for many months, living under the impression that he would not recover, for that Red had bewitched him. Some weeks ago he died at Shoal Haven. Poor Red was the only native on the spot, and he performed the last offices to the deceased by wrapping up the body in bark, according to their custom, previous to the interment.

Patalick told me that he fully believed that Red had procured the death of his brother by bewitching him, and that he must stand punishment for the supposed offence.

A. Berry

Census of the Natives of the Shoal Haven District.

	Married		Single		Male		Female		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Children	Children	Children	Children	
Gerongong Tribe	4	5	6	1	4	1	1	21	
Broughton Creek	8	9	4	1	-	4	2	25	
Uru Tribe	8	9	2	1	2	2	2	24	
Shoal Haven Tribe	10	13	2	5	6	3	3	39	
Mumba Tribe	5	8	4	2	2	2	2	25	
Wooragge Tribe	11	11	2	3	7	4	4	45	
Jonvis Bay	17	16	6	1	11	7	7	62	
	63	71	35	14	33	26	26	242	Gen Total

With the exception of 8 old men, the single men are from the age of 13 to 30. The male children are under 10 years of age. The single women are from the age of 12 or 13 to 25. The female children are under 12 years of age.

Say 242  
25 or Burn  
267 ab May 1858

A. Berry

**Summary of Blankets Issued**

[1838] Return of Aborigines at Respective Stations - compiled from lists created for the issue of blankets (ACNSW)

District or Station	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Wollongong	49	25	23	27	124
Shoal Haven, Illawarra	52	38	30	19	139
Shoal Haven, Saint Vincents and Jervis Bay	78	51	43	26	196
					Total 460

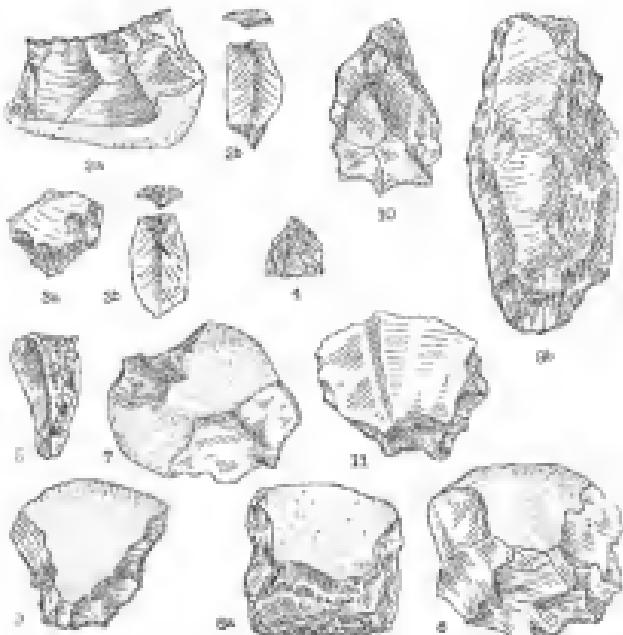


FIG. 20-25.—2a, Core with plane working surfaces and tranching along top edge of basal face. 2b, Flakes 4 to 10 from last mound from these cores. 3a, Block 100 mm. long, core with tranching on edge of working platform. 3b, Block 100 mm. long, core with tranching on edge of working platform. 4, Platform core of sandstone and 50 mm. long. 5, Platform core. 6-10, Wares Mound. 7, Core with irregularities produced by hard limestone rock. 8-9, Double pointed implement. 10, Tranching on both ends and side. 11-12, Wares Mound. 13, Flakes 14 to 18 from last mound. 14, Block 100 mm. long, core with tranching along top edge. 15, Block 100 mm. long, block used in 100 mm. thick wall.

Knapped implements from closers sites of Illawarra and the South Coast (McCarthy, 1943)

1830

Margaret Monzies at Jambaroo

23 April 1830: Margaret Monzies, a recent arrival from Scotland, records in her diary an encounter with Aborigines at Jambaroo, where she and her husband Doctor Robert Monzies had recently settled and subsequently built Minamuna House (Monzies Diary - ALA, MS2201):

[Tuesday 23rd April 1830] Charles James came down on Sunday & dined with us. Natives brought me a fish on Saturday a mullet, for which I gave a little tea and sugar. Some of the natives are useful for sending from place to place & deliver their message distinctly. One brought me a boar's head from Mick Mary's wife at Jambaroo the other day - a good looking fellow. He had a brass medal round his neck which told he was William Roberts king of Jambaroo & a piece of scarlet cloth across his shoulder.

He told me he was going to Shoalhaven & would call for the basin on his return but he has not gone yet. Some more blacks came up & this morning 2 or 3 women came with some cray fish & got sugar from Mrs Smith & Roberts gave her 2/- for 1lb & 6s 2d of sugar & understood perfectly the quantity he should get for his 2/- while nothing like a fortnight before they are one of tea & sugar. They kindled a fire in the wood & after all partaking of their repast the women & children with 2 men set off again to Shoalhaven but his Majesty I saw still about the place. They are generally ugly and very picturesque when seated round their fires & the little children like imps are running about, & some of them have a gull that would serve a duchess.

(In an article entitled 'Monzies of Minamuna', *Wattlebird* (Sydney, May 1968), Graham Kinross Smith wrote:

Margaret O'Keefe, 'Mrs Monzies' plain-speaking 'help' at Minamuna, taught her 'young ladies', as she called them, to ride well. But old Margaret was frightened of the blackfellow's they passed round their rides. There had been in fact some danger from a local tribe on one earlier occasion, when an aide in the Governor's shooting party had wounded an aboriginal boy whom he had mistaken for a possum in the trees, not far from Minamuna. Dr Monzies' ability to heal the boy prevented bloodshed.

Blankets for Ulladulla Aborigines

8 May 1830: Letter from Patrick Plunkett re blankets for Aborigines at Ulladulla (Wollongong Branch of Magistrate Rooms, HS)

Police Office Wollongong  
3rd May 1830

Sir  
I have the honor to inform you that there is no way of forwarding the Bale of Blankets sent from your Office to this place for the native Blacks of Ulladulla, and beg to suggest that it may be returned to Sydney to be forwarded from thence by the Cutter Alexander McLay which vessel trades from Sydney to Ulladulla.

I have the honor &c &c

Signed P Plunkett Pat. Mag.

The Ordnance Storekeeper  
Solicitor Sydney

9 May 1839. Letter from Patrick Plunkett re blankets for Aborigines at Ulladulla (Wollongong Branch of Magistrate Return, #6)

Police Office Wollongong  
9th May 1839

Sir

In acknowledging the recd. of yr. letter of the 4th instant enclosing the copy of a communication from the Colonial Secretary requesting you to forward the Blankets for the Blacks of Ulladulla, and Jervis Bay, by Mr Barry's Boat to Shoal Haven, addressed to me, I have the honor to inform you that I have sent the Box of blankets in question on board the Cutter "Industry" to be returned to your Office, with a view to its being sent by Mr Barry's Boat to Shoalhaven as directed by the Colonial Secretary's Cutter. Mr Barry's boat does not call here.

I have the honor &c &c

Signed/ P. Plunkett P. Mag.

The Colonial Stomnkeeper  
Sydney

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Lady Jane Franklin at Tasmania

14 May 1839. Lady Jane Franklin, the wife of the then Governor of Tasmania, Sir John Franklin, visited Howard during the week of 10-17 May 1839.

On Tuesday, 14 May, whilst travelling from Wollongong to Kaama, she recorded the following in her diary

... crossed the forced & natural channel of Mullet Creek & found about half a dozen men with soldiers with pistols in hand standing over, holding up piles to sink in bed of river.

Near here saw some natives from Bong-bong & a Lascar of China who sd. he kept to them because they were of his own colour. One woman wd. not come forward when desired by her husband & he sd. she was shy.

Roger M Organ (editor), *The Howard Diary of Lady Jane Franklin, 10-17 May 1839* (Howard Historical Publications, Woonona, 1988, 52pp) for a full transcription, taken from original diaries and letters in the National Library of Australia.

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#### Aborigines at Jervis Bay

29 May 1839. Return of Aboriginal Natives at Jervis Bay issued with blankets (VONSW, 49433 1)

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Jarvis Bay on 29th May 1839

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	No. of wives	Child		Place or District of Present
					M	F	
1	Tommy Settar		40	1			Shoalhaven
2	Waterman Jack		59	1			Shoalhaven
3	Lewis		45				Shoalhaven
4	Jonny	Burra	29				Jarvis Bay
5		Jaberry	39				Jarvis Bay
6	Crawfish		15				Jarvis Bay
7	Cabon Tommy		15	1			Jarvis Bay
8	Captain Cook		20	1			Jarvis Bay

Number of Blankets

13 Reed.

Total Issued

13 Distributed

Remainder in Store

3

After Kinghorn J.P.  
Mount Jarvis 29th May 1839

[All are designated as belonging to the 'Wingatty' tribe]

Capture of Bushrangers by Aborigines

29 August 1839: (Sydney Gazette) Report on the capture of a gang of bushrangers by local Aborigines at Illawarra

The Poor Blacks

Illawarra - Extract from a Letter from Wollongong, dated 26th instant, to a gentleman in Sydney

A curious scene took place here yesterday - the bushrangers have been committing depredations for the last five or six weeks, and have been the terror of the neighbourhood, excluding the Police, who have been out in all directions after them. To our surprise, the blacks, in a small party, brought them in prisoners, with their hands tied firmly behind them. They have been committed and will be sent up by the steamer the next trip.

Reward for Native Trackers

8 September 1839. Letter from Patrick Plunkett, magistrate at Wollongong, re the dispersal of rewards to native blacks who captured some runaway convicts, or bushrangers, as referred to above (Wollongong Bench of Magistrates Return, HHS)

Police Office Wollongong 8th September 1839

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge your Letter of the 29th ultmo No 33760 relative to the Capture of the Prisoners named in the margin [Wm. Wrench, "Wofat" 1836, 14 Years, Chmt. Goss, "Sunny".

1834, 7 Years) by nineteen Native Blacks, and requesting I will report the rewards which would have been payable had the Perpetrators been arrested by White Men.

By the Government Order of the 13th April 1832 a Magistrate by whom a Runaway is brought is empowered to give a reward of twenty shillings under particular circumstances. There is also an additional Reward of Five Pounds on conviction if the runaway committed any Felonious Act during the period of his having been illegally at large.

And as the rewards for capturing the two Bushrangers in question would amount under the above mentioned order to £12 (twelve pounds) I propose that a Suit of Clothes consisting of a Coat, Trousers, and Shirt be issued to each of the 19 Blacks that apprehended the Perpetrators, which would amount to about £12 (twelve pounds).

I have the honor to be  
P.Junkett P.M.

The Honorable  
The Colonial Secretary  
Sydney

.....

**Return of Natives at Twofold Bay**

24 September 1839: George Inley to the Colonial Secretary enclosing a return of Natives at Twofold Bay, along with a list of blankets distributed (AONSW, 42433 1, 39/1088).

The Honourable E. Doas Thompson Esqr  
Colonial Secretary

Sir

I have the honor to enclose you a List of the Aboriginal Natives residing in the District, according to the form accompanying you letter of the 1st January 1839, but with an additional column to shew the distribution of the blankets.

I am happy to say that the Blacks in the vicinity of the Bay are gradually advancing in civilization. We have now two boats in our whaling establishment manned entirely by Aborigines. One of the boats has got five whales this season and the other three.

The men live in huts with their families and cook their provisions the same as the white people. They seldom or ever absent themselves without permission, and keep watch at night and perform their duty much better than I expected. The females are also improving, several of them have become very good washer women and there are two or three who have made gowns for themselves.

I have the honor to be  
Sir  
Your Obe Servt  
George Inley

List of the Aboriginal Natives  
residing in the Twofold Bay District:

No.	English name	Native name	Probable Age	Number of wives	Children M	F	No. of Blankets
1	James Imley King	Kirrima	29	3	2	1	3 1/2
2	James Imley	Ananjeria	33	2			3 1/2
3	Cooper	Bunwongi	33	1	2		3 1/2
4	Corben Jackey	Karmish	34	2			3
5	Comstable	Carmanqua	45	2	1		2 1/2
6	Morgan	Cedul	41	1			2 1/2
7	Dirkay	Henn	49	1	1	1	3 1/2
8	Terry	Tamchingua	24	2			3
9	Mr Staples	Bumugama	29	1			2 1/2
10	Old Toby	Cunamunga	69		1	1	3
11	Tugtar	Banngu	29	1			2 1/2
12	Cabon Jamie	Papu	41	1			2 1/2
13	Toby Filpot	Calamore	46				1 1/2
14	Old Burn	Bunocale	66	1	1	1	3
15	Paddy	Tigro	47	1	1	1	2 1/2
16	Connor	Gas	36	1			2 1/2
17	Captain	Orywar	38	1			2
18	Robert	Timengua	39	1	2		3
19	Jack Brown	Mimina	46	1			2 1/2
20	Jack Black	Panagua	38				3
21	Billy	Natchangua	17				1
22	Timothy	Millimaki	20				1
23	Rennwill	Bubagena	21				1
24	Toby Blue	Bugantana	18	1			2
25	Pegion	Umbunor	29				1
26	James Gay	Lure	19				1
27	Paddy Ru	Candulla	19				1
28	George	Puntimar	17				1
29	Mic	Cavotang	26				1
30	Charles Imley	Tackungua	16				1
31	Joe Imley	Pandille	16				1
32	James Slosser	Parkungula	16				1/2
33	Actor	Walunbaka	15				1/2
34	Tonymy	Wameneen	16				1

[The above 34 individuals are designated as belonging to the Wronon (?Wiacen) tribe, resident at Twofold Bay]

[From 35 to 43 are designated as belonging to the Pambula tribe, resident at Pambula]

35	Nister	Unganga	71				1
36	Piperty	Canenau	66	1		1	1 1/2
37	Jacky Karming	Calamore	36	1			2 1/2
38	Umnad	Bugantana	21	1			1
39	Omashay	Omashing	23				1
40	Johnny	Pupam	19				1
41	Neddy	Taramangua	22				1
42	Charlie Lynott	Mommotana	23				1
43	Charlie Owyig	Windungu	19				1

[From 44 to 47 are designated as belonging to the Malaguta tribe, resident at Cape Howe and adjacent coast]

44	Ben	Penumbi	31	1	1	2 1/2	
45	David	Mungabi	34				1
46	Bill	Muriba	29				1 1/2
47	Lugan Bug	Monenoco	24				1

[From 48 to 59 are designated as belonging to the Gencia tribe, resident at Cape Howe and adjacent coasts]

48	Lord Rodney	Cabunda	29				1
49	Jackey	Mariwa	28				1
50	Jack	Turunga	27	1			1
51	Pompany	Marbina	23				
52	Talley	Bungam	29	1			
53	Paddy	Malongua	19				1
54	Tinker	Witawngua	17				1
55		Cooper Mill	79	1			
56	Wreddy	Flourie	71				
57		Pomcale	69	1	1	2	
58	Billy Blue	Gatkin	32	1		1	
59	Crockneched						
	Jamie	Pantown	36				1

[From 60 to 88 are designated as belonging to the Walumba tribe, residents at Walumba]

60	Major	Bollungs	49	2		1	2
61	Charlie	Namta	38	1			
62	Billy Coban	Monata	40	1	2		2 1/2
63	Jackey	Cheragan	38	1			1
64	Joe	Brupero	28	1			1
65	Jamie	Membina	28	1			1
66	Peta Coban	Loring	41	1			1
67	Peta Narang	Charo	26				1
68	Jackey Narang	Connel	31	1			1
69	Johnny	Chudligrong	24	1			1
70	Doctor	Wamidga	21	1			1
71	Billy	Ginor	50				1
72	Philips	Wimba	51	1	Dead		
73	Bubuka Major	Thomura	33	1	1		1
74	Dickey	Undabow	34	2	1		1
75	Jamie	Bombyll	26	1			1
76	Tommy	Kallya	27	1		1	1
77	James	Wanmbar	25	1	2	1	1
78	Sandy	Youngaregal					
79		Walbandia	60				
80		Whimwa	66				
81	Peter	Colr	18				1
82	Jackey the						
	Stockeman	Urunga	16				1
83	Naddy	Witrapal	15				1 1/2
84	Jamie	Pokimai	16				1
85	Hilmar	Collingal	16				1
86	Billy Narang	Tendayiga	17				1
87	Joe	Tumandali	20				
88	Unitoti	Nebal	16				

[From 89 to 116 are designated as belonging to the Biggah (Bega) tribe, resident at Biggah]

89	Patrick Kulay	Manoro	55	1	1	2
90	King	Margene	30	2		
91	Tony	Margene	35	2	2	3
92	Bonner	Mura	35	2	1	4
93	Pi	Village	27	1		2
94	Yaffey	Pumadi	24			1
95	Long Legs	Tutuvu	25	1	1	1
96	Tall Boy	Mangoro	25	1		1
97	Captain	Tangay	30		1	1/2
98	Dickey	Tranganga	32	1	1	2
99	Adam	Mugua	71			
100	Tony	Corangai	58		1	1
101	Murphy	Gangulu	10			1
102	Tony the Stockman	Manimbay	19			1
103	Dudson	Warangga	40	1	1	
104	Sandy (above)	Alumar	41	1		2
105	Haniqua	Wawlowa	10			
106	Clown	Tibbin	18			
107	Adam	Baplo	50	1	1	1
108	James	Quimbo	26	1		
109	Noddy	Coranilla	18			
110	Mr Hawdon	Combo	25			1
111	Billy	Marawa				
112	Pusseycat	Tingulu	18			1/2
113	orphan female					
114	Pussy cat	Warry		1		1/2
	Baby	Wurwur	18			1

[From 116 to 129 are designated as belonging to the Broga tribe, resident at Dry River]

115	Balbure Tommy	Combumbi	37	2	1	3
116	King	Mununggal	60	1		1
117	Major	Mununggal	60	1		1
118	Carpenter	Mulrogala	40	1		
119	James	Bilningula				
120	Laney	Buncoci	27	1	1	1
121	Charley	Callar		1		
122	Tommy	Cumomina		1	1	1
123	Old Laney	Amigolo	60		1	
124	James	Macan	20			
125	James	Bemburying	26			1
126	Hamleuso	Chilian		1	2	

126 Men

73 Women

George Imay 35 Boys

24 Girls

257 Total

**Census of Twofold Bay and Jervis Bay**

[1839] Return of Aborigines at Respective Stations - compiled by L.Threlkeld from AONSW Returns.

District or Station	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Twofold Bay	129	72	36	34	257
Jervis Bay	8	4	-	-	12

**Baptism**

[1838] (New South Wales Birth, Death, and Marriage records, AONSW, volume 48, entry no. 786) Record of the baptism of a 16 year old Aboriginal girl named Mary Hopkins of the Illawarra tribe, who had been in the care of Captain Hopkins, Dapto

1840

**Reverend W.B. Clarke at Illawarra**

January 1840. The diary of the Reverend W.B. Clarke records his encounters with Illawarra Aborigines during January 1840 (Mitchell Library, MSS139).

Reverend W.B. Clarke was an Anglican minister and geologist who visited Illawarra early in January 1840, travelling to Wollongong, Kiama, and Shoalhaven to study the local geology. He was accompanied during these travels by members of the Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition.

Clarke's diary includes a description of a corroboree held near Wollongong on the night of Saturday, 4 January 1840; an incident at Kiama concerning the abuse of an Aboriginal woman by both white and black men; comments on the Aboriginal significance of the old Igtee of Figures; and a conversation with the Aborigine 'Old Frying Pan' in Illawarra.

The following are relevant extracts from the diary:

Saturday, January 4 - ... On the point [Townscliff] there were pieces of fossil wood, of granite, shale etc. The beach was marked by the impressions of 2 naked feet which had come from Bull, evidently a black fellow's ...

The evening was spent in instructive converse, till about 9 when Mr Agate, Mr Rich and myself went off to attend a corroboree, a meeting of the blacks, to which we had been invited by 'Old Frying Pan', alias Brown Bear, and some others, whom we got to throw the Boomerang for our amusement after dinner.

'Frying Pan' I had seen at Mr Nichols's store yesterday and again today - he was also a guide to Mr Foster. He is a fisherman, but when I asked him to catch me some Didids, a huge prawn abounding here, he was angry, and said only women took them. Men catch nothing but with a spear.

About 10 we reached the corrobory ground.

It was in the bush where several large Teatrees were growing. Three or four trees made known the spot, to which we are all first directed by the laughter of the blacks. Beside a fire to the right over which sat an old woman whom we had seen in town dressed in a dirty pink gown thrown over her, lay 6 naked fellows, rubbing themselves over with white pipe clay, which they first chewed to make soft, and red ochre etc.

They lay on their backs forming bands of white over their chests, arms and legs, and then they rubbed each others backs with red ochre, ranging from time to time, that the old lady might see that all was perfectly properly done. They then bound their middles with strips of bark, having a loose at each end, one of which hung down before, the other behind.

When this was done, during which time their spears stood against a tree, they sipped some liquid from a tin pot which they had got at by means of a piece of rope-yarn. The liquor turned out to be sugar and water.

Around the other trees lay various groups of men and women, some partly and some wholly clad, others quite naked. One fellow who was as black as Ebros were a large straw hat, and as we came up, said in accented English "I have nothing to do with getting up the corrobory. I have not been at one for several years." The facility with which the blacks acquire our language is wonderful - several spoke as well as this fellow.

When the ball was ready to be begun they told us to go to a fire which two half naked women were making. I lent a hand and plucked some of the soft tea-tree bark for thatts and in a few minutes there was a great blaze, illuminating the craggy arches of the tree and showing their bunks like the column of a cathedral aisle. I could not fail to be impressed with a feeling of wild sublimity, especially as I sat after the blazed up and I found myself amongst at least 100 native savages, many of them in a state of perfect nudity and looking most unearthly. One, a tall, thin fellow without a rag upon him, sat over a solitary fire alone, stirring the ashes with a stick, having a book to it, the machine with which he catches worms and maggots from the trees. By another fire sat a man with his wife and child, the latter ill with fever. I asked how old it was, the answer was "holding up the hands twice and two fingers twice, 2 years or 24 months."

About five minutes after we had assembled we heard from a dark corner a low melancholy sort of chant, and a beating of a waddy against a shield, the shout grew louder, at first it was sung by two voices, then by several - voice chanting in till it burst out in a most unearthly howl - the noise increasing. "O Hoa" seemed to be frequently repeated. After the first chant, the singers came out into the light and we then saw one man with a reddish cotton pocket handkerchief on his shoulders beating the waddy against the shield, the chant musician who sang with another beside him. The sound appeared to be emitted from the chest with a great straining of muscles, as if it caused pain.

The dancers, 6 in number, then came out, each having in his hand a bunch of fresh leaves, the very bouquet of an English belle - and when the chant began again, in which all seemed to join, they commenced the dance - by moving the right foot first, the left afterwards, backwards and forwards with a low grunting coincident with the kicking out of the limbs. Then one at a time they advanced, opened their legs, stood perfectly erect and still, and jerked the whole body by a violent muscular movement in and out by the knees. This was clearly a difficult part, and very painful to continue, as it lasted for a moment, and I observed that they whisked the green boughs about them after it as if to cool themselves.

The song was going on all the while, and the entertainment consisted in repeating the song and dance together. This was done several times when the party who were looking on, reminding me strongly of the old dowagers and aunts and uncles at an English ball, began to express dissatisfaction. Amongst the complainers was Mr Prying Pan, who with a red night-cap on his head, sat beside the first fire. He made a great noise and when, as I was informed by an interpreter, he urged the dancers on and they said they could not get more than themselves to dance - he said

"If the man won't dance why don't you take the woman?" which afforded great merriment to all who understood him. I use the word 'understood' because it appears that this corrobory was called by the Sydney Blacks, and the call given by them to the Blacks of Kiama, Wollongong, Liverpool, Brisbane Water and Newcastle, from which places some come to this meeting. Now, as they are of different tribes and do not speak the same dialect, several did not understand a single word of the song, which was a new one, and therefore no wonder it did not give satisfaction to them.

On enquiry I find the burden of the song to be, "that the white men came to Sydney in ships and landed the horses in the saltwater." It is of such ridiculous subjects that the Blacks of New Holland make their songs - and any trifling event is celebrated by a song.

They appeared to be perfectly harmless, nor was there the slightest indecorum in their conduct on this occasion. There was a degree of quiet and silent gravity I was astonished at, and I could compare their behavior to nothing so much as to that of well-brought people at a similar Corrobory or Ball in England. On grave occasions the Corrobory has doubtless a different character, varying with circumstances ... the only signs of war here were the spears with which some of the men danced, held upright before them. I recognized one of the dancers as a man with one arm, wearing a plate in the day time as chief of Wollongong. He had told me that he lost his arm in the General Hospital. Another I knew to be the man who had thrown the Boomerang in the morning.

Of the Blacks it may be generally remarked, that they are fond of seeing the whites amongst them - they have kindness enough to perceive our advantages over them, and they generally ask for a little assistance as Frying Pan did tonight. It was 12 o'clock before I left, when the Australian opera was not nearly done, as we returned home we heard the noise of song and dance evidently continued with uninterrupted ardour.

Old Frying Pan, whom I had seen before, seemed to have some notions of Religion, but it is certain they are in part borrowed from the whites. I examined him closely on the subject of Cannibalism. He was very angry at the idea, and said none of his people ever ate flesh. But he allowed some bad fellows did up the country far away. I asked him what happened after death. He said "Go up on high trees then go to great governor. He give bull (drink) plenty kangaroos, plenty opossum, plenty fish." On further enquiry he satisfied me this was not all original, for he used the term "God Almighty."

The Blacks, however, certainly believe in a state after death, for they have an idea that they are turned into white-men, into whites, porpoises etc., and many of them go so far as to address a whale or other great fish as their Uncle, Father, etc., and call them to come on shore with them. Nay, so far is this carried, that some time ago a white man was asked by a Black to make amends for an injury done by another, who was dead, because there happened to be a great resemblance between the dead man and the white.

The most extraordinary thing is the perfect way in which they pronounce and express themselves in English. Their own dialects appear to be pronounced thickly, only perfectly clear and well defined, even the harshest sounds.

I observed tonight a great diversity of colour and countenance. There were evidently more than one race. —

Monday, January 8 - Rose at 6. Breakfasted with Mr Meares at 7, with Mr Hancock Dara, Drayton and Butcher. Off at 9.

Hancock and Meares accompanying Dara and me and the guide, (Biggs) to Depto. The road leaves that over Kerra to the right, then descends to country much like the coal district of England - through a woody region to Charscoal Creek, which is bridged by palm trees, passing an enormous fig-tree, at the foot of which old Timbary, a black, was born, and which his people revere. There is another tree which the blacks say contains the names of their tribe and its history, by some hieroglyphical interpretation of its branches a real genealogical tree. —

[To Broadhaven] Tuesday, January 2 - We came about 5 o'clock to a river, which we crossed, then to the saw-mill established by Mr Berry, which we visited. The machinery is simple and washed by water in the American plan. Here I saw three girls - one woman of about 40 having her shoulders and bosom tattooed (marks of mounting, cut with a glass bottle or stone, the very custom of old time Levites 20X 26, 20X 5), the other very young, one with a child extremely small in her blanket behind her. I asked them the name of the waterfall we had seen yesterday. They did not know. I said "where are you going?" - they said "Walkabout". As I knew they were in search of food I gave the old one a shilling which she thanked me for, and putting on her blanket she walked off. The youngest of these women was very good looking. Their husbands, they said, were at home. No doubt asleep, whilst their wives were "racing the wind"....

Thursday, January 3 - Rose at 6. While at breakfast a black fellow, his girl, and child, came to the house, begging. The man afterwards lay down to sleep on the grass and sent the woman to fish

I first visited the little cove to the right which we passed last night. The rock there was all hard basalt and like what we saw at Boodnara. We then called at Mr Burnett's tent in front of which I found a dyke of porphyritic trap of a red colour running along the shore approximately from N. to S. We then went past a cottage building for a store, the walls of which were made of palm trees, in which were three black fellows, one making a handle of a hatchet, another acting as servant, and the third as shopman. This fellow was very intelligent and was dressed in a blue jersey topknot with a black stock round his neck. He seemed proud of his attire. I understand that he has had the shop in charge for several days at a time and that he is capable of serving out small articles. From him I learned the name of the waterfall - Tsingouera. He was much pleased when I showed him a sketch of it....

... As we rode up the slope I saw three blacks, father mother and child, all lying naked together on the beach along our path. Mr Burnett accosted the lady with "Well, Maria?" She replied "Yes Master". Returning a few seconds afterwards for something I had left behind I saw her going into the tent of the men, and from their manner they did not like her to be seen. But the picancy betrayed her.

As I came back again, she was half clad in her blanket outside, and evidently beaten about. Two other black fellows came down the hill, one of whom threw a weddy into the bush nearby. I stopped and took it up. It was shaped thus: - and was made of hard wood. I asked if he ever beat his girl with it; he said no, but being further questioned, he said that he would "beat a black fellow who should meddle with her, but would not touch a white fellow - let him do what he might". The fact is, white fellows carry white money as well, black fellows have nothing but black skins to recommend them."

It is a remarkable fact that scarcely a black child is now to be seen. The young ones are now more or less mongrel. I saw one the other day with a pale skin and red hair - a dark red or rose colour.

[Heads north from Kiama to Wollongong]

... On reaching the other side [of the cove] I returned for the horses, and not finding Dan trotted on with Mr Burnett. Our cries were answered by some black fellows fishing, one of whom came past us with a fish nearly as large and much like a salmon.

... After riding into the bush some distance we came to the side of a hill where we found the ground much cleared and clearing, and at last stopped at a farm house where the good people gave us some raw milk. Then again we entered the bush, and passing in view of a great swamp (Tirringup Swamp), which appeared on our right, we came to a place called Wintyo Wintyo where we found ourselves in the midst of an encampment of blacks, in the Fig Tree Pines.

The only protection these people had against wind and sun was a screen of dried palm leaves, and these they lay near their fires, asleep in a burning hot day. Dogs and pheasants were abundant, and when I spoke to one a child threw a tomahawk at one of the dogs to keep him quiet.

A venerable old man was here with a beard as white as snow. I asked him if they had been at the Corroboree at Wollongong to which they replied No.

... After passing the swamp we came to an inn at Jambaroo in front of which sat two well dressed Englishmen and stood 6 or 7 dirty and naked black girls with their children. A mutual stare was all our salutation, but I think they were quizzing Mr Burnett's beard (which he does not shave in the back) and my dirty legs, for they laughed heartily as we passed.

[Aboriginal people, words, and place names mentioned by Clarke in the Diary include:

Old Frying Pan	skies Brown Bear
Captain Biggs	the Aboriginal guide
Timberry	an old Aboriginal Man
Gin	Aboriginal Woman
Pegaminy	Aboriginal Child
Corroboree	Aboriginal song and dance festival
Boomerang	hunting implement
Diddie	a lobster or large prawn
Woddy	implement
O Pos	a chant at the corroboree
Marilla	mountain on the way to Kangaroo Valley and Cootangatta
Barengarry	mountain on the way to Kangaroo Valley and Cootangatta
Walkabout	-
Diddie	Pigeon House mountain
Numurra	mountains
Boontama	a locality
Bonwern Cove	a bay near Kurnell
Boonarrik	a locality
Segengowers	a waterfall near Macquarie Pass
Khartemapee	Kurnell (Blowhole) Point
Pengollee	Headland opposite Blowhole Point
Wangerang	Headland north of Kurnell
Katnella	mountain
Burnill	mountain
Connigalla	a locality

Clarke was persistent in recording Aboriginal place names during his many years of geological excursions throughout New South Wales.

In a later letter to his mother - in England, dated 3 August 1840, he stated:

I have now a very decent number of royal acquaintances, but my greatest affection is for my friend and namesake, Ben Ben, alias Mr Frying Pan, in the Illawarra country....

For a watercolour of Frying Pan refer under Skinner Prout 1841

#### Americans in Ilorena

December 1839 - January 1840: Members of the Wilkes United States Exploring Expedition visit Ilorena, including James Dwight Dana, geologist; Alfred T Agate, artist with the expedition, and H Hale, naturalist. They are accompanied during their visit by Rev. W B Clarke (refer to Clarke's Diary above).

Agate produced sketches of the Aborigines and a Corroboree at Illawarra, which were later engraved for the published account of the expedition:

- **Corroboree Dance**  
Sketched by A.T. Agate. Engraved by E.G. Dunnet  
Engraving Wilcox, 1844, p.183  
[Possibly a view of the corroboree at Wollongong seen by W.B. Clarke and others]
- **Forest, Illawarra, N.S.W.**  
Sketched by A.T. Agate. Engraved by J.A. Ralph  
Engraving Wilcox, 1844, p.241  
[View of two Illawarra Aborigines, dressed in European clothes, surrounded by the lush Illawarra forest]

[H.J. Hale later published a report on the native language of Monuya. See under 1846]

Aborigines at Wollongong

1 May 1840: Return of Aboriginal Natives at Wollongong for 1840 (AMONSWI, 4/247a 1, 4/2487 1)

Police Office Wollongong  
12th May 1840

Sir

With reference to your Letter of the 1st of January last, I have the honor to transmit to you the accompanying return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Wollongong on the first instant, and to whom blankets were distributed.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient Servt  
P. Plunkett P.M.

The Honorable  
The Colonial Secretary  
Sydney

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Wollongong on 1st May 1840

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob. Age	Number of wives	M	F	Children
1	John Bundo	Trumelang	45	1			
2	Pangmatta Tom	Undedlight	27	1			
3	Charly Hooker	Carrito	30	1			1
4	Frying Pan	Musamull	50				
5	Joe	Tumble	27				
6	Billy	Wolongola	30	1			
7	Jack	Whalong	60	1		2	
8	Conner	Nango	27				
9	Paddy	Bulngalong	22				
10	Paddy	Tewrie	22				

11	Peter	Goodiagong	18		
12	Jim	Yempijum	39		
13	William Derby	Metanglo (Manangle)	39	1	1
14	Paddy	Cootun	27		
15	Fisherman	Corumbi	18		
16	Jack	Manegy	39	1	1
17	Charcoal	Toungga	39	1	1
18	Charly	Malin	39		
19	Tommy	Gentho	34		
20	Tell Boy	Billugo	39	1	
21	Philip	Mogalong	35	1	
22	Long Jack	Carmott	65	1	
23	Micky	Kerrihna	27	1	
24	Johnny	Jilader	8		
25	Jim	Cocowill	27		
26	Johnny	Bolloo	13		
27	William	Burburg	27		
28	Jimmy	Biguntia	23		
29	Johnny Cook	Jonboon	39		
30	Nanglo	Manglo	39	1	
31	Bill	Talibar	45	1	
32	Jimmy	Good Party	39		
33	Geogong	Geogong	39	2	1
34	Jacky	Wiamal	39	1	1
35	Fellow	Fellow	65		
36	William	William	20	1	1
37	Barna	Barna	29		
38	Cauburn Jack	Bongga	55		
39	Omiedy Boy	Toorung	39		
40	Captain Brooks	Houqua	39		
41	Jack	Yatull	59		
42	Billy	Ulorch	11		
43	Paddy	Balkawura	8		
44	Marnah	Burripoo	39	No Listed	1
45	Mary	Beecone	59		
46	Mary	Goodalong	49		
47	Biddy	Negemalo	27	1	
48	Mary	Coorandibong	39	1	1
49	Mary	Budook	39	1	
50	Kelly	Buttons	39		
51	Mary	Norcone	39	1	1
52	Nelly	Nerayl	25	1	
53	Sally	Yallongas	49	1	
54	Biddy	Byamine	29	1	
55	Biddy	Coongal	24	1	
56	Lilly	Molose	55		
57	Nanny	Bozel	49	1	
58	Molly	Booraw	39	1	
59	Biddy	Molocow	24	1	1
60	Jenny	(Boonan)			
61	Clancy	Yabut	15	1	1
62	Mary	Muddarinh	39	1	
63	Betty	Mumerun	49	1	
64	Polly	Boulteroo	20	1	
65	Eliza	Janjukure	18	1	
66	Polly	Tarin	24	1	
		Mumt	39	1	

67	Mary Ann	Mary Ann	8			
68	Ebeck	Geengash	24	1		1
69	Morgan	Bathuk	30	1		
70	Deodor	Dherong	40	1		

## P Plunkett P.M.

Men	46
Women	22
Boys	8
Girls	11
Total	99

## LET

[All the above are designated as belonging to the Five Islands tribe, and resident at Illawarra.]

## Aborigines at Errowal, Jarvis Bay

16 May 1840 Return of Errowal Jarvis Bay Aboriginal Natives for 1840. Errowal is located at St George's Basin, adjacent to Jarvis Bay.

Note that at column 1 '1m' refers to 'Individually' associated with that person, whilst at column 2 '1B' refers to 'Blankets issued' (ADNSW, 42479 1).

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Errowal, Jarvis Bay on 16th May 1840

In (I)	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	Number of wives	M	F	Child	Place or District of Resent
5 3		Paramatta Jack	26	2	1	1		Errowal
5 2		Jacob	30	1				Wollima
5 2		Cubo	40	1				Wollima
5 2		Gabon Tom	45	1		1		Jarvis Bay
5 2		Jerry	58	1				Jarvis Bay
5 2		Jerouangla Bob	40	1	2		2	Jerouangla
5 2		Bernury Dick	34	1	2	1		Bernury
5 2		Mernan	54	1				Jarvis Bay
5 2	Munger Munger		77	1	2	2		Jarvis Bay
5 2		Wondandean Bob	45	1			1	Wondandean
5 2		Pirma Charles	30	1			1	Pirma
5 2	Tagalong		35	1			1	St Geo Basin
5 2	Timbora		44	1	2	2		Jarvis Bay
1 1		Tom	70					Jarvis Bay
1 1		Mr William	50					Bernury
4 1		Woolong Bullock	42	1	2			Pirma
1 1		Woolie Man	30					Wollima
1 1		Solomon	24					St Geo Basin
1 1		George	28					Bernury
1 1		Neddo	18					Jarvis Bay
1 1		Jacky Jacky	18					Jerouangla
1 1		Pirma Dick	32					Pirma
1 1		Borny Whil	29					Jarvis Bay
1 1		Bessy	24					Jarvis Bay
1 1		Nelly	38					Jarvis Bay
1 1	Bunes Bunga	Mary	46					Jarvis Bay
Total - 40 Blankets issued								

Chas. J.Campbell

[No tribe is designated in the above list]

**Aborigines at Jervis Bay**

25 May 1840 Return of blankets issued to Aboriginal Natives at Jervis Bay (AONSW, 4/2479 1)

**Return of Aboriginal Natives  
issued with blankets at Jervis Bay on May 25th 1840**

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	No. of wives	Child M F	Place or District of Reson
1	Henry (Chief of Wagamry tribe)	Curlimb	26	1		Jervis Bay north
2	- (Conomy tribe)	Bobanuk	25			Lagoon
3	Jacky Stewart (Conomy tribe)	Jenick	26	1		do
4	Dr Wentworth (Conomy tribe)	Thyeghan	25	1		do
5	Tom Miller (Wagamry tribe)	Munda	46			Jervis Bay N
6	- (Wagamry tribe)	Yellmundra	35	1		do
7	Long Jack (Jervis Creek tribe)	Mutong	26			do
8	Katy wife of Henry (Wagamry tribe)	Nyambul	29			Jervis Bay
9	Maria do of Bobanuk (Conomy tribe)	Womyrang	26			Lagoon
10	Bebig do of J. Stewart Jyambung (Conomy tribe)		29			do
11	Many do of Yellmundra Quengul (Wagamry tribe)		25			Jervis Bay
12	Polly (Wagamry tribe)	Tamlong	25			do

13	Taungai (Wagamay tribe)	45	do
14	Wife of Warrnooth (Jervis Creek tribe)	16	do

Received 14 Blankets on May 23rd and issued them on the 26th May 1940  
 Thos. Kinghome  
 for Alex. Kinghome Esq

Men	6
Woman	7
Boys	-
Girls	-
Total	13

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#### Aborigines at Shoalhaven

[May 1940] Return of Blankets distributed to Native Blacks at Shoal Haven. Compiled by Alexander Berry (ACONSW, 4/2479.1)

#### Blacks of the Shoal Haven tribe

Man Native Name	Man English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Patullock	Tommy Patullock	27	1
Budgerou	Budgerou	37	1
Lookoutboy	Sam Lookoutboy	27	1
Neoron	Cabon Mick	29	1
Towrong	Greedy Boy	29	1
Boobill	Boobill	35	1
Noosar	Neddy	23	1
Yanulite	Cabon Jack	Leaves	1
Goodgood	Goodgood	41	1
Wheel	Maramg Jack		
Cooraboy	Cooraboy	36	1
Coombing	Cabon Jack	41	1
Makoh	Lewis		
Unswarmh	Winterman Jack	31	1

Womans Native Name	Womans English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Moener	Elze	29	1
Mumbangah	Mumbangah		
Naawming	Naawming		
Barn	Biddy	24	1
Ullock	Ullock	26	1
Nantong	Nancy Dawson	25	1
Pybocoi	Beazy	24	
Bingar	Bingar	26	1

Jallong	Polly		
Culong	Mary	26	1
Wangummat	Mary	31	1
Coorongalang	Mary		
Hartung	-	39	1
Boys Native Name	Boys English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Pattlock	Tommy Pattlock	27	
Cooiboi	Barry	19	
Wesa	Charlie Queen		
Teekumboy	Sam Tuckatboy	27	
Nutai	George	6	1/2
Billy	Billy	4	
-	Little Bones		
Nanorong	Pattie	11	
-	Jack	4	
Nowakan	Nowakan	6	
Fathen	-		
Bengal	Macastle	14	1
Girls Native Name	Girls English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Deelour	Mary	24	
Murook	Mary	28	1
Mitsok	Mitsok	3	
Mitabungah			
Kity	Kity	13	1
Moolong	Stumpie	19	1

#### Blocks of the Broughton Creek Tribe

Mens Native Name	Mens English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Toodood	Broughton	41	1
Toomong	Tiger	26	1
Carman	John	25	1
Undyang	Jackie	27	1
Yakine	Derby Brock	41	1
Kindi	Chanie Kenell	24	1
Bandagang	Old Sammer	51	1
Cooneel	Kennedy	24	1
Cundugander	Old Dorsel		
Tutusul	Joe	15	1
Bulong	Dick	25	1
Jander	Commandants	18	1
Womens Native Name	Womens English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Coopoor	Mary	26	1
Notbul	Billy	25	1

Mooban	Menelle	34	
Burnnock	Burnnock	35	1
Toombur	May	39	
Wathul	Overseer	19	1
Juringah	Jatulugah	46	1
Yimbur	Dehameen	24	1
Nulgah	Nulgah	24	1
Whitacock	Satin-Bird	33	1
Henni	Jannah	39	1

Boys Native Name	Boys English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
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Kineul	Charlie Kindil	34	
Coosomul	Paddy	39	1
Boolealong	Billy	35	
Coonoul	Kennedy	24	
Butong	Dick	25	
Mulong	James		
Burbam	Orone	7	

Girls Native Name	Girls English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
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Naupene	Betsy	18	1
Page	Page	9	1/2
Cookoo	Mary	9	1/2
Womungah	Fanny		
Whend	Jolly		
Bunn	Fanny		1
Rosannah	Rosannah		
Cooitabull	Mary Anne		
Boonah	Buddy		

#### Blockets of the Wominge Tribe

Mens Native Name	Mens English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Munjack	Old Patis	51	1
Tollene	Old Billy	41	1
Noonon	Nelson	27	1
Yellie	Jim Cotton	33	1
Mundigang	Uncle John	51	1
Coorsboon	Yellow Man	31	1
Nasami	Jockie	25	1
Walangul	Patis	24	1
Coolumbina	Wiping Joe	25	1
Cattuck	Patis But	51	1
Emelie	Emelie	41	1
Unyrock	Young Joe	25	
Bunamong	Johnnie	22	1
Washellock	Pitter	27	1
Numbumba	Tom Beddy	24	1
Cooligan	Billy	10	1
Coonal			

Womans Native Name	Womans English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Tumbullish	Ella	23	1
Cumyeeng	Maria		1
Cermed	Sally		1
Yawbungah			1
Karrick	Karrick	31	1
Weemo	Sally	22	1
Jipper	Mary	21	1
Woorong	Maria		1

Boys Native Name	Boys English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Waddallack	Peter		
Coolumbens	Wepeng Joe	25	
Nurumbine	Tom Billy	24	
Nomowen	Billy	11	
Bobie	Bobie	2	
Yoolar	Billy	11	
Palmily	Young Billy	21	1
Unjarrak	Young Joe	25	
Souter	Souter	14	1
Geelumbor	Patho	7	

Girls Native Name	Girls English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Unrong	Maria		
Coonall	Ella		
Walrock	Loga	18	
Gobballin	Susan	15	
Kirong	Maria		
Wathul	Overseer		1
Whitebull	Salem Bird		
Bilbungah	Charlotte		
Bessack	Paris		1

#### Blocks of the Murroe Tribe

Mens Native Name	Mens English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Coral	Jack	31	1
Wadoweedo	Charlie	31	1
Ambarander	Sawyer	19	1
Yambor	Jonnie Ambo	23	
Munema	Media	21	
Muttoo	George	17	
Jandee	Jonnie	14	
Jagur	Black Harry	29	1

Murra	Centen Brock		1
Mimmet	Long Charcoal	dead	
Numberry	James Charcoal	27	1
Nawpulg	Charlie Goodnight	45	1
Bulmong	Pink O Corn	45	1
Goodbur	Blackie Smith	45	1
Gundaree	Cobon Bill	31	

Womens Native Name	Womens English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Boogace	Maria	34	1
Neewit	Mary	23	1
Oban	Obain	23	
Mairang	Maria	47	
Boromweboon	Bonney	32	1
Murook	Mary	39	1
Nitack	Maria	34	1
Wyallock	Maria		1
Ninulite	Ninulite	33	1
Tubin	Buddy	32	1
Gunkin	Gunkin		
Noonie	Moerit	42	1
Gunkin	Gunkin	46	1

Boys Native Name	Boys English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
	Tommy	11	
	Johnnie	7	
	Burnkin Billy	3	
	William	18	
Eenanura	Billy Roberts	21	

Girls Native Name	Girls English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Warungah	Maria		1/2

#### Numba Tribe

Boys Native Name	Boys English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Bartoon	John Bartoon	18	1
Nanang	Bonita	8	
Roger	Roger	8	
Poolmong	Freddy	29	1
Burnal	Monkey	18	1
Jambal	Ugly Jack	20	1
Meyman	Billy		

Girls Native Name	Girls English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Deorook	Susan	2	
Tumbulah	Coorook	19	1
Namahah	Eliza		
Bungah	Namahah		
Mayool	Maria	18	1
Tulmomy	Page	11	1

#### Blocks of the Guringang Tribe

Mens Native Name	Mens English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Warroon	Tom	31	1
Coorjilong	Jaime	26	1
Meejack	Jamie	26	1
Nunmar	Fisherman Tom	42	1
Buerrongang	Old Major	42	1
Quarecal	Old Louis	51	
Yahwawrook	Tolby	41	1
Klowrong	Klowrong	47	1
Mirrah	Tom		
Warkum	Old Tommy	49	1
Mazmeh	Charlie		1

Womens Native Name	Womens English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Moonar	Moonar		1
Coorungah	Bessy	33	1
Cooral	Eliza	21	1
Umusearah	Page	21	1
Yarni	Yarni	33	1
Wadiaklong	Bobby	38	
Bungarah	Bungarah	30	1
Querebungah	Maria	41	1
Fabungah	Jessie		1
Namajah	Nelly		1
Numbungah	Numbungah		1

Boys Native Name	Boys English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Meson	Tom	31	
Coorjilong	Jaime	26	
Weenayash	Robert		
Billy	Billy	2	
Jonna	Jonna	15	1
Yarnack	Billy	19	
Moornoh	Nelson		
Mirrah	Tom		
Mazmeh	Charlie		

Girls Native Name	Girls English Name	Sup Age	Blankets
Queenburghah	Queenburghah		
Rosannah	Rosannah		
Charlotte	Charlotte	6	

## Aborigines at Berry

Total	Men	Women	Boys	Girls
41	1 Shoal Haven tribe	12	18	6
29	2 Broughton Creek	11	7	9
46	3 Wooragee tribe	9	10	10
46	4 Gairongnyne and Murrumbidgee tribes	13	12	8
34	5 Murroo tribe	11	9	3
207	Total, B.T.	67	49	39

## Aborigines at Berrima

1 September 1840. Return of Aboriginal Natives at Berrima, gathered between May and September 1840. All are designated as belonging to the Berrima District tribe, and resident in the Berrima District (WONSW, 42479.1, 427642.1).

Berrima August 24th 1840

Sir

I have the honor to enclose the Form required by your letter of the 1st January last relative to the supply of Blankets to the Aboriginal Natives, and to add that it was found impossible to collect them for the purpose, except in small numbers at a time, and at long intervals, otherwise the Return would have been forwarded sooner.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedi. Servt.

G. W. Bowen

Police Magistrate

To  
The Colonial Secretary

Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Gerringa  
between the 1st of May and the 1st of Sept 1840

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	Number of wives	Children	
					M	F
1	Neddy	Woombe	25			
2	Jacky	Bundie	28	1		
3	Charly	Yamayalga	25			1
4	Tom	Yuma	28	1		
5	Jenny	Moolong	33	2		
6	Harry	Dorang	22			
7	Jacky	Beyarding	25	1	1	1
8	Jacky	Gungancy	19			
9	Carrel	Yanapali	25			
10	Jenkins	Toongala	25			
11	Billy	Manja	35	2		
12	Kennedy	Gourmor	25	1		
13	Jacky	Minda	25	1		
14	Mary	Yambu	18			
15	Susannah	Hollcaste	2			
16	Polly	Jecilla	18			
17	Mrs Pioughton	Molatta	22			
18	Fancy	Boran	17			
19	Maria	Uroughi	30			
20	Billy	1/2	3			
21	Jennifry	Wodilla	18			
22	Maria	Goortindo	21			
23	Tommy	Padge	7			
24	Mary	Urubika	23			
25	Jenny	Woomneth	30			
26	Mary	Borongo	25			
27	Doctor	Ella	30	1	1	1
28	Charly	Whase	30			
29	Major	Mipperra	30			
30	Broughton	Tidaura	25	2	1	3
31	Hammond	Jenagong	30	1	1	1
32	Ella	Alga	40			
33	Mary	Quara	40			
34	Betsy	Mawbolong	19			
35	Nancy	Denjaro	18			
36	Mary	Quano	35			
37	Polly	1/2	9			
38	Susan	Womhawanga	22			
39	Biddy	Wumba	35			
40	Mary Ann	1/2	5			
41	Jenny	Jancala	20			
42	Omney	Bong Bong	10			
43	Billy	Bullamia	9			
44	Charley	Ganaca	7			
45	Jimmy	Namanglinja	45	1		
46	Billy	Boya	20	1		
47	Button	Boudjona	38	1		
48	Jimmy	Oradda	21	1		
49	Maria	Bourjal	18			
50	Charlotte	Berracha	30			
51	Charlotte	Wedburja	18			

52	Biddy	Navas	26
53	Betsy	Trimby	19
54	Chersey	(Trumby)	-
55	Blucher	-	-
56	Polly Wild	Gooling	39
57	Mary	Mulluguley	19
58	Polly	Mimango	25

G. W. Bowen  
Police Magistrate

'Confusion owing to inserting the names of the Children and wives in the list, rendering them liable to be recorded twice over.' L.E.T.

Men	26
Women	24
Boys	6
Girls	8
Total	54

L.E.T.

#### Census of Illawarra Aborigines

[1840] Return of Aborigines at Respective Stations - compiled by L. E. Threlkeld, from returns in the Archives Office of New South Wales:

District or Station	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Juniper's Bay	6	7	-	-	13
Wollongong, Five Islands &c	49	22	6	11	88
Shell Harvey - Total	67	55	49	36	207
				Total	209

O. Tyerman & G. Bennett: *Voyages and Travels Round the World*, John Snow, London, 1840.

Tyerman and Bennett were members of the London Missionary Society. This published report includes an account of the Aborigines of Illawarra in 1826 - refer under that date for extracts.

#### Reminiscences of Aborigines at Kiama

[c1840] William Bullis, who arrived at Kiama with his family early in 1833, later reminiscenced of the Aborigines at Kiama in the early 1840s (*Kiama Reporter*, February - March 1902) as follows:

... it is quite natural that in the early days one would see and come in contact with the aborigines, or, more plainly speaking, the native blacks, who frequented the various haunts of the Illawarra district.

It would appear that the thin dense scrub which existed between Klemm and Gerrigong was a great resort for them, having all the natural facilities of a romantic and hunting character. Now, it would seem that the temporary housing we got at Wiley Creek, under the hospitality and kindness of Mr James Lang, was a place near their camping ground. They had several, but it afterward transpired that this spot was their principal resort. They would come there and stay three or four weeks at a stretch.

We were not long there when my mother and I heard the noise of many voices on the hills nearby. Apparently the noise was the characteristic noise of the black aborigines. There was no fear displayed at first by mother and son, although at the time we had not been initiated into the ways and habits of the natives, but this ignorance was not to last much longer.

After a few hours hunting they all gathered and assembled on a green spot of land opposite our door. There must have been a hundred or more, including blackfowls, gees, and pectoralies. We thought it was all up with us. We had nearly come to the conclusion that our bodies were to supply the principal luxury for this great feast. Bloods of preparation chased each other down our poor skin-locking countenances till we nearly fainted as if we had just come out of a bath. The intensity of feeling was something past describing during the few minutes that this, to us, horrible scene lasted.

At last relief came. The king of the tribe came to the door, with his brass plate dangling on a bare breast. "Booi, messe! we do you no any harm - we only come to cookoo possum, wallaby, we make fire presently, we all friendly." There was something he wanted which my frightened mother handed to him, as far as she was able - our stock of supplies was only limited.

The little incident thoroughly initiated us in the ways of the blacks, and there was no fear displayed afterwards. If they called around, the greatest of friendship existed on both sides, particularly with King Harry. He was actually pleased to be talked to as King Harry.

I have often thought what a pity it was that the Government did not step in to rescue the residue of the black race earlier. What a hold they would have had then to what they had when rescuing the miserable few, who had nearly failed to propagate, and so keep the race from dying out and becoming extinct. It is a great discredit to any nation to have it thrown up to them that they have been the means of allowing the aborigines of any colony to die out, not leaving a vestige to show what kind of a race were their predecessors. This far we can only reflect and say the same is past, and all our suggestions now will have no effect.

All I can say now is - in my young days I did enjoy the sight of a young native swimming, throwing the spear, and last, but not least, throwing the boomerang. I was so impressed with those wonderful performances that I was induced to try the art myself, with fair success. But of late years I have been more inclined to be like Moses - travelling by the aid of a staff than making the spear to hum through the air, or make the boomerang, after hitting an object, return and lay at the feet...

...Even the aborigines paid as much, or more, respect for their dead than some Europeans did. They picked a soft, sandy spot - they did not believe in much hard work, consequently the sandy spot was their choice. One could always tell where they buried their dead by the great heap of timber they laid on the graves. A favored spot was near the Klemm cemetery. Can it be possible that when the present site was suggested that the choice of the blacks had any effect on the minds of those whose duty it was to make the choice? There must have been something to suggest itself, or they would have chosen a more elevated site than the present one...

[See also under 1851 for further extracts from Burdett's reminiscences]

### William Nicholls' Aboriginal Portraits

[1840s] William Nicholls (1809-64) arrived in Sydney in February 1838 after serving as an apprentice engraver and lithographer.

During the 1840s Nicholls produced a number of portraits of New South Wales Aborigines, including members of the Illawarra and Shoalhaven tribes.

1	Punch, Wife of Cullabaa Broken Bay Tribe 1840 Zincograph	23.2 x 21.2	NLA	NK708
2	Bill Worrall Lithograph Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p242: 1)	29.2 x 22.6	NLA	NK708
3	Johnny Crook Nat. Name Janambus The Illawarra White toolur Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p242: 1)	29.1 x 21.1	DG	P218
4	Johnny Crook. Native Name "Hunter". From Illawarra Lithograph Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p242: 1)	24.9 x 19.6	NLA	NK9875
5	Morong, A Native of Kurna Engraving Illustrated Buscombe (1978, p239: 1)	22.5 x 15.6	DL	P601

### Abraham Lincoln at Jambaroo

[1840-44] Abraham Lincoln (1815-1864), a tanner and amateur artist, settled at Jambaroo during this period. Amongst his collection of pencil drawings of the Jambaroo and Kurna region in the Mitchell Library (ML C305) is a sketch of 'Mary', a local Aboriginal woman.

1841

### The 'Wreck of the Rover'

13 October 1841. The ship *Rover* is wrecked at Broulee on this date. A party of local Aborigines are instrumental in bringing survivors to shore, and their heroism is later recognised by some of the white residents. For further details refer Gibney, 1980, p 41; AGNSW, Coll. Recd. 41/16867, HVA, volume XXIII, p 790; Moruya Examiner, 30 March & 6 April 1918.

### John Skinner Prout, Artist, at Illawarra

[1841-44] John Skinner Prout, artist, visited Illawarra in 1841 and 1844. He produced the following works depicting Aboriginal subjects:



OLD FRYING PAN -  
WELLONGONG  
Jan 16. 1844.

22.8201 -

N S W

John Skinner Prout - Old Frying Pan, Wellongong  
6 January 1844 (British Museum, Natural History)

- Old Flying Pan, Wollongong Jan 8 1844  
W/C  
Portrait of an Aboriginal man
- Yannah Wath, Ilawarra, New South Wales  
W/C  
Portrait of an Aboriginal woman
- Native Encampment  
W/C & Engraving  
Aboriginal encampment by Mount Keira, with two bark huts and three native figures
- Corroboree dance of the Natives  
W/C  
Scene of native corroboree, possibly at Ilawarra
- Lake Ilawarra, New South Wales  
Engraving  
View from Red Point, with an Aboriginal man seated in the foreground
- Tom Thumb Lagoon, New South Wales  
Engraving  
View of Tom Thumb Lagoon with Aboriginal family by shore and man fishing with spear

Peter T Brown & H Klenberg, *Skinner Prints in Australia 1840-48*, Hobart, 1966, for further details.

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5342

#### Muneroo and South Coast Census

14 January 1842. J Lambe, the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Muneroo district (including the far south coast) reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in his area of jurisdiction (HRA Sydney, 1824, series 1, volume 301, pp 743-4)

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Muneroo, 14 January, 1842

Sir

Referring to your letter of the 2nd July last transmitting papers respecting the Aborigines and directing my particular attention to the 6th paragraph of Lord John Russell's despatch of the 25th of August, 1840, I have the honor to State for the information of His Excellency the Governor as follows -

The Aborigines of the District, with the exception of the Coast tribes, may be said to be almost in their primitive State. At the Stations bordering on the Coast, a good many however of the Natives are employed in sheep watching, herding Muzzo and musing, and last year three Stock's Crews, in number eighteen, were employed by the Myslumur Inlay in the Whale Fishery at Twofold Bay on the same day or term as the whites. The Stock's were stationed on the opposite side of the Bay to the other Fishermen, and they adopted the same habits as the whites. They lived in Huts, Slept in Beds, used utensils in cooking, and made the flour into bread; but, as soon as the fishing Station was over, they all returned to their tribes in the Bush. The Natives belonging to the tribes to the

westward of the Coast range are very little employed by the Stockowners, except a few occasionally in washing sheep, they preserve their original habits of hunting, and are constantly moving from place to place.

The accompanying Census I am led to believe exceeds the actual number, for I found it very difficult to obtain a correct Return from the Natives Shifting so frequently. The Births during the last year have been about equal to the Deaths.

With reference to the proposal of appropriating a proportion of the Land Revenue to the civilization of the Aborigines, I would beg leave to State that the Tribes, belonging to the Coast, situated between the Murrays River and Twofold Bay, who have come much more in Contact with the Settlers than those of any other part of the District, appear to wish that the Children were taught to read and write; but at the same time they have an insuperable dislike to parting with them, if they are to be excluded from Occupying seeing them. If Schools were established in the District in the first instance, I have no doubt the Children would be permitted to attend them, provided the Parents and friends were sometimes allowed to visit them, and the dislike of parting with the offspring, on the part of the Parents, most probably would gradually wear off when the Children might be removed to some general Establishment and finally Separated from the Tribes.

I have, &c.,

John Lamb, C.C.I.

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maitland for the Year 1841,  
accompanying letter to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary dated 14th January,  
1842

Names of Places usually frequented	Males		Females	
	Above 12	Below 12	Above 12	Below 12
Saltbush Bay	7	7	6	6
Noaraws	14	8	10	3
Bowdally, Burgales and Gundury	80	20	40	10
Windella, Macarthur and Bowrunga	22	15	9	6
Twofold Bay	24	11	21	8
Cape Howe	16	11	10	3
Pimpura	19	1	3	4
Biggah	52	20	65	20
Ormeo	60	20	30	10
Mohuranta	20	28	16	2
Briwy River	25	7	20	3
Ngwymbar	12	9	19	8
	351	119	230	68

Aborigines at Wollongong

3 May 1842. Letter from Patrick Plunkett re blankets for Aborigines at Illawarra (Wollongong Bench of Magistrate return, B.H.S.)

Police Office Wollongong  
3rd May 1842

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge rec'd. of your Letter of the 18th ultimo. Inclosing except in Duplicate for Seventy Blankets forwarded by the Goulburn Packer, for distribution to the Natives

Blocks of this place, and to inform you that the Gostard Pocket has not arrived here, and is suspended to have been unpacked in the late Gales. I can obtain Blankets here in lieu of them, I think at as low a rate as they can be purchased in Sydney, if you will sanction my doing so, stating the price I may give.

I have the Honor to be  
Sir P. Plunkett P.M.

A Rogers  
Col. Storekeeper  
Sydney

.....

27 May 1842. Return of Aboriginal Natives at Wollongong (AONSW, 4/1133 3, 42/4224)

Police Office Wollongong  
7th June 1842

Sir

In reply to your Letter of the 1st of January last, I have the honor to transmit to you, a return of the Aboriginal Natives residing in this District to whom Blankets were distributed on the 27th ultimo.

I have the honor to be Sir  
Your most obedient Servt

The Honorable  
The Colonial Secretary  
Sydney

P. Plunkett P.M.

Return of Aboriginal Natives  
taken at Wollongong on 27th May 1842

No	English Names	Native Names	Prob Age	Number of wives	Children	
					M	F
1	John Bandie	Teamealong	47	1		
2	Parmananta Tom	Undoddalight	27	1		
3	Charley Hooker	Girona	30	1		
4	Frying Pan	Murumalla	50			
5	Joe	Tumble	27			
6	Billy	Wolongolin	30	1		
7	Jack	Wintalong	60	1		
8	Paddy	Bungalong	22	1		
9	Paddy	Tivense	22			
10	Peter	Coodaipeng	18			
11	Jem	Jenegemem	30			
12	William Darby	Mectungle	30	1		
13	Paddy	Coonan	27			
14	Fisherman	Conembla	18			
15	Jack	Mangpy	30	1		
16	Charcoal	Tourwya	50	1		
17	Charley	Malon	30			
18	Tommy	Jehmnoo	34			
19	Tall Boy	Mimugo	30	1		
20	Philip	Mogalong	35	1		
21	Long Jack	Correwoor	65	1		
22	Medicee	Numma	27	1		

23	Jim	Coonel	22		
24	Jimmy	Burnid	23		
25	Bill	Tu Iben Eer	45		
26	Gwangong	Gwangong	36		
27	Fellow	Tallow	35		
28	Cobden Jack	Bonigel	35		
29	Shady Boy	Tooring	35	1	
30	Captain Brooks	Monneigh	35		
31	Mara	Bumgoo	25	1	1
32	Mary	Bee ono	50		
33	Buddy	Kiparmagh	27	1	
34	Matty	Copraif long	38	0	1
35	Mary	Rudiek	35	1	
36	Mary	Noroon	35	1	
37	Nelly	Nimset	25	1	
38	Bessie	Coongall	24		
39	Nanny	Roovil	40	1	
40	Molly	Boonan	35	1	
41	Beby	Moboon	24	1	
42	Mary	Murchian	40	1	
43	Bessie	Bamburoo	20		
44	Polly	Jiaupake	18	1	
45	Polly	Murel	35	1	
46	Mary Anne	Mary Anne	15		
47	Ebbeck	Coongash	24	1	1
48	Morgan	Bathmol	30	1	
49	Doctor	Charong	40	1	
50	Bob	Chi Tai	35	1	1
51	Thomas	Tonna	35	1	1
52	Lewis	Magash	45		
53	Mara	Good good	35	1	
54	Mara	Yardah	35	1	
55	Cabbage	No native name	35		
56	Bessie	Wenelong	25	1	2
57	Mary	Coolbolong	17	1	1
58	Sook	Glengawley	20		
59	Charlotte	Coonack	12		
60	Betty	Wooming	15		
61	Billy	Wytalva	10		
62	Maria	Wootiwonga	10		
63	Eliza Hooker	No native name	7		
64	Patrick	Byoul	20		
65	Billy	Bambooi	9		
66	Charley	Yambul	30	1	2
67	Long John	Bungaling	23		
68	Mary	Moontung	31	1	
69	Charlotte	Nalyat	28	1	
70	Polly	Bumbing	24	1	
	Man		70		
	Women		42		
	Boys		11		
	Girls		14	Total	137

[All are designated as members of the Five Islands tribe and residents of Hawaii]

**The Death of Charley Hooke**

14 June 1842: A letter from Patrick Plunkett, resident magistrate of Illawarra, to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney, records the death of Charley Hooke, a famous local Aborigine murdered by natives from Broughton Creek (Wollongong Bench of Magistrate Returns, 1842)

Police Office Wollongong  
14 June 1842

Sir

In transmitting to you the Inclosed Deposition of Dr. O'Brien taken touching the death of an Aboriginal native named "Charley Hooke" I have the honor to inform you that I have made enquiry and could not find any other witness to examine in the matter

I have the honor &c  
Sd/ P. Plunkett P.M.

R Therry Esqr.  
Her Majesty's Attorney Genl  
Sydney

[Dr. O'Brien's deposition has not been located. For various accounts of the circumstances of the death of Charley Hooke in 1842, refer to the Archibald Campbell Papers (Appendix 2); the article on the Hooke Islands of Lake Illawarra under 1893; the McCallum Papers (Appendix 3, notebook 11); 'Reminiscences of Old Pioneer', 1882; and the Dolton Papers (Appendix 4) - all reproduced in this study.]

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22 July 1842: Return from Patrick Plunkett re coroners fees for inquest into death of Charley Hooke, murdered by Broughton Creek Aborigines (Wollongong Bench of Magistrate Returns, 1842).

Abstract of Fees and Expenses attending Coroners Inquest for the Quarter  
Commencing 1st April 1842 and ending 30th June 1842

1842, May 3d

To Coroners Fees and allowance for 3 miles travelling to hold an Inquest on Charley Hooke an Aboriginal Native	4 0 0
To Surgeons Fees on Dr. (Post Mortem Examination)	1 2 0
To Surgeons Fees on Dr. (Post Mortem Examination)	3 3 0

Forwd. the above to the Attorney General  
22nd July 1842

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16 June 1842: 'Register of Coroners Inquests, 1842' re Charley Hooke (ADNSW, 4/6611/2; Rec 100):

\* 1705 / Wollongong / 3 May / Charley Hooke (Abgl) / P. Plunkett Esq. P.M. / 16 June 1842 / Supposed murdered by Blacks

## Eviction and Isolation

1843 - 1869

The years 1843-69 saw an almost total neglect of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of Illawarra and the South Coast by the white invaders, who continued to... along the coast throughout this period by taking up large parcels of land. This led to the introduction of sheep and cattle, resulting in the destruction of native forests, and the killing of indigenous plants and animals which formed the basis of Aboriginal subsistence.

During their thousands of years of residence the Aborigines had been natural conservators of the environment. The Europeans showed no real regard for such conservation, viewing the land as a source of wealth and prosperity. The local people were therefore forced into areas which the Europeans considered worthless and unable to be cultivated, such as swampy and/or rocky land.

It was not until the 1870s that a few white people began to question the treatment of the blacks over the years since 1788, however the public at large considered them a dying race during this period and saw no need to consider them, or help them, apart from in a few isolated incidents.

By the late 1860s the Aborigines of Illawarra were already fringe dwellers, and commonly seen as pitiful creatures by the white population. These attitudes are revealed in many of the reminiscences recorded at the time, and later followed up in the 1870s and 80s within the writings of interested locals and anthropologists who, whilst interested in the study of Aboriginal culture, were not necessarily concerned for their welfare.

The administrators of the Colony were more preoccupied with recording the deteriorating numbers of the Aboriginal population during this period, rather than directly assisting in the survival of the race.

1843

### Census of Maitland and South Coast Aborigines

11 January 1843: J Lamber reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maitland area (HRA, Sydney, 1824, series 1, volume 300, pp 649-50).

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maitland, 11 January, 1843

Sir

I have the honor to Report, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, in reference to your letter of the 30 July, 1841, accompanying papers respecting the Aborigines, that late change had

taken place in their condition in this District during the past year. Some of the Tribes, particularly those on the Coast, continue, as formerly stated, occasionally to assist in sheep watching. Hesing and Weeping, they are frequently found to be absent on some hunting or shooting excursion.

Three of the young men accompanied some of the parties, who last took stock into Gipps' Land, and have remained there acting as Stockmen, one of them now owns several head of cattle, which he has received in compensation of his services, and which appear to attach him to his employment, but the others seem less contented, and intend to return to their Tribes.

The Census herewith forwarded is exclusive of Gipps' Land. There the Natives have not yet come in communication with the Stock owners, and no correct estimate could be obtained of the number, but which I have reason to think is considerable.

I have, &c.,  
John Lambie, C-C Lands

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo for the Year 1842,  
accompanying letter to the Honble the Colonial Secretary, dated 11th January,  
1843

Number of Places usually frequented	Males		Females	
	Above 12	Below 12	Above 12	Below 12
Talbotville	7	7	6	8
Norawa	14	8	10	3
Boat Alley, Bongaloo and Boundary	50	20	40	18
Windella, Marabine and Bowerga	16	15	9	9
Twofold Bay	34	13	28	8
Cape Howe	16	1	16	3
Pimbura	9	1	3	4
Biggar	62	20	55	25
Ormeo	50	20	30	16
Maharana	20	6	16	2
Mowenbar	12	3	10	2
Snowy River	25	7	20	3
	345	121	231	60

#### Oswald Brierly at Twofold Bay

[1843] Oswald Brierly, artist and superintendent of Benjamin Boyd's establishments at Twofold Bay, kept a number of diaries and journals during the 1840s, including a 'Journal of a Visit to Twofold Bay, Maneroo and Districts beyond the Shoal Bay River' (Mitchell Library manuscript).

Brierly was a competent artist, and Twofold Bay works by him with Aboriginal subjects include:

1	Australian Gns Twofold Bay June 29th 1843 Pencil	ML PXD8115
2	Charcoal - Twofold Bay Sept 5 1843 Watercolour	ML PXD8116

3	Twofold Bay Canoe Pencil	ML.PXD811.8
4	Bundgobs, Chief of Twofold Bay Tribe, N.S.W. WC Reproduced: Dutton (1974), plate 54, b/w	ML.PXD811.9
5	Twofold Bay - Native Canoe Watercolour	ML.PXD811.10
6	Mur-towns Esqr: Bundyang Pencil	ML.PXD811.11
7	Aborigines seated in a canoe Pencil	ML.PXD811.12
8	Aboriginal woman in canoe offering fruit Pencil	ML.PXD811.13

**J. Browne at Twofold Bay**

(1843-47) J Browne was an amateur artist who appears to have been employed in the Twofold Bay and Bega area about this time. The following works with Aboriginal subjects are mostly highly detailed pencil sketches, supposedly of the local Aboriginal people.

1	Homemans talking with Aborigines P	ML.PXA16891.5
2	Aborigines with spears at mitch rocks Ink & wash	ML.PXA16891.52
3	Aboriginal women fishing P	ML.PXA16891.54
4	Aborigines' camp P	ML.PXA16891.55
5	Aborigines in humpy's P	ML.PXA16891.58
6	Aborigines with spears climbing rocks P	ML.PXA16891.57
7	Aborigine hunting in bush P	ML.PXA16891.50
8	Australia - white man sleeping in humpy P	ML.PXA16891.59
9	Aborigines fishing from canoes P	ML.PXA16891.60
10	Aborigines in canoe fishing P	ML.PXA16891.62

11. Aborigines in forest making spears  
P NLPXA16891.68

12. Aborigines' camp - men carving  
P NLPXA16891.64

Johnny Crook (Punbal)

[1843] T.L. Mitchell, Surveyor-General and amateur artist, produces a pencil portrait of Johnny Crook, native name Pumba, of the Five Islands [Mitchell Library]

1844

Census of Maneroo and South Coast Aborigines

9 January 1844: J.Lambie reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo area [HMA/Sydney, 1824, series 1, volume XXIII, pp 491-2]

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 9th January, 1844

Sir

Returning to your Letter of the 2nd July, 1843, accompanying certain papers respecting the Aborigines, I have the honor to report. For the information of His Excellency the Governor, that no material change has taken place in the condition of the Natives of this district during last year. They occasionally assist, as formerly, the Stockmen in Sheep Washing, hoeing, and rapping, but their habits of industry do not seem to increase. There is one man who has separated himself from his Tribe, and has enclosed a small portion of Ground situated on the Coast, which he cultivates as a Garden, but he is the only instance of any attempt being made to adopt the mode of civilized life.

I have, &c.,  
John Lambie, Commr. Cr. Lands

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo for the Year 1843,  
accompanying Letter to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary. Dated 9th January,  
1844.

Names of Places usually frequented	Males		Females		Totals
	Above 12	Below 12	Above 12	Below 12	
Boundary, Brigalow and Boonah	13	8	10	4	35
Wagonga, Tibia, Tibie and Myra	31	33	2	1	67
Windella, Manabina and Bowera	30	25	49	10	177

Bogong	59	20	67	22	158
Twofold Bay	24	15	52	8	80
Pambula	9	1	3	1	14
Cape Howe	16	1	19	3	39
Murramarang	99	5	16	3	40
Mowamba	12	3	10	3	28
Snowy River	25	7	20	3	55
	311	119	199	58	687

#### G. A. Robinson at Bogong & Twofold Bay

August - September 1844: George Augustus Robinson, Official Protector of Aborigines, visits the Aborigines of the Bogong and Twofold Bay areas. The following journals in the Mitchell Library collection record these travels:

- Journal from Twofold Bay to Cape Howe, Ram's head (30 miles) thence to Twofold Bay, Friday 13 July - 13 August 1844.
- Journal from Twofold Bay on board the Wanderer Schooner Wednesday 14 August - Tuesday 27 August.
- Journal from Pambula to Bogong Country Wednesday 28 August - 15 September 1844.

The following quotes from his published journal refer to the Aborigines of the far South Coast (Mackness, 1941, pp 23-4):

... On the 25th crossed a succession of wooded Ranges of Granite and Sandstone and entered Bogong [Bog] singularly situated in an Amphitheatre of the Deeding Range ...

The Dendrocybe was common on the Rocks and the Zizina on the Ranges, the nuts of the latter hang in clusters, and are delectable when in a raw state, in preparing them for food the Natives bruise the kernel to a pulp and soak them in water, the nuts are collected in large quantities and by the Blacks called Bunggow.

The Tribes of this Country have been greatly reduced by the Yass Blacks and others of the interior who are constantly making incursions upon them. I visited a small island where for several days they had defended themselves against a much superior force.

Forty Miles by the Coast North of Twofold Bay was the furthest point reached. Some of the Huts in the locality resembled a boathouse and often half a Cappa - The Moyers Inley were the first and for some years the Exclusive Settlers at Twofold Bay and much to their credit lived on peaceful terms with the Aborigines.

The Natives at their establishment were encouraged to habits of industry and employed in Whaling, Stock-keeping, Shepherding, Bullock driving and other useful pursuits. Dr. Inley from whom I received every requisite assistance and attention, spoke in commendable terms to the Natives and I was happy to find that the other Aborigines along the Coast were equally well spoken of, several persons by their instrumentality had been saved. The most striking instance (drought under notice) was the Wreck of a Steamer in a Storm at Broulee when all hopes of saving the white persons were given up, and when no individual would venture, two Aboriginal natives at the imminent risk of their own lives boldly plunged into the Breakers and rescued suffered who but for them must have perished. For their humane and heroic conduct the Settlers in a Memorial to the Government recommended them for consideration.

Gratuitous medical assistance to the Natives is afforded at Mr Boyd's Establishments and at Messrs Irby: the latter at present are the sole occupants of the Biggah Country.

The language of the Biggah Tribe is dissimilar to the Natives at Twofold Bay....

G A. Robinson, 'Biggah Words' in 'Vocabulary of the Languages spoken by the Wisserrong and Biggah tribes of Aboriginal natives' Robinson Papers, Mitchell Library, 1844, volume 65, part 3, pp 22-52, & part 6, pp 94-5.

1845

*Census of Manneroo and South Coast Aborigines*

3 January 1845: J Lamble reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Manneroo area (HMA, Sydney, 1845, series 1, volume 300V, pp 259-70)

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Manneroo, 3rd January, 1845

Sir

Agreeably to your letter of the 2nd July, 1844. Accompanying papers respecting the Aborigines, and particularly drawing my attention to the 8th paragraph of Lord John Russell's Despatch of the 25th August, 1845, I have the honor to report, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, the Substance of what I have on former occasions Stated, namely that no material change has taken place in the condition of the natives during the past year, they continue to assist the Stockowners, particularly those whose Stations are situated near the Coast, in Sheep washing, hoeing, and reaping, but, since labor has become more plentiful and consequently a reduction in the rate of Wages, their Services are less in demand than formerly.

The man, whom I alluded to in my report of last year, as having separated himself from his Tribe and enclosed a small portion of ground which he cultivated, still occupies the same place, but he is the only Native who seems to make any progress towards a state of civilization. From the best information I have been able to obtain, I believe the deaths and births for the last year to be about equal.

I have, &c.,  
John Lamble, C.C.L.

*Census of the Aborigines of the District of Manneroo for the Year ended 31st December 1844, accompanying letter to the Colonial Secretary, dated 3rd January, 1845.*

Names of Places usually frequented	Above 12	Males	Above 12	Females Below 12	Totals
		Below 12			
Gundary, Biggahs and Bontally	12	8	10	4	35
Wagonga, Tiba Tiba and Myra	31	30	4	1	67

Windella, Morialmic and Bowninga	82	23	50	12	177
Bogong	59	19	57	23	156
Twofold Bay	24	16	22	10	60
Pambula	9	1	3	1	14
Cape Howe	17	6	15	5	30
Munungra	18	5	15	4	43
Mowamba	12	4	9	3	29
Snowy River	24	7	19	3	55
	306	122	254	67	721

#### George French Angas at Illawarra

August 1845: George French Angas, author and artist visits Illawarra, briefly staying at the farm of Mr Jessel near Dapto. Whilst in the region he produced the following views which depict the local Aborigines.

- Entrance to a harbour, with aborigines in a mui mui  
Oil Dixson Library DLB  
View supposedly looking towards Wollongong Harbour from the mountains to the south west. Attribution is doubtful.
- Cabbage Palms, Dapto, Illawarra [1845]  
W/C South Australian Art Gallery  
View of Aborigines climbing trees near Dapto.

Angas's publication *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* (London, 1847, 2 volumes) includes a description of his visit to Illawarra (volume 2, pp 234-243). The following extracts describe aspects of the local Aboriginal people:

... Amongst the most striking and beautiful of the wild flowers that adorn these mountain forests of New South Wales, are the "warrior" and the rock-rose. The "warrior" is a splendid shrub, growing with a single upright woody stem to a height of six or seven feet, at the top of which is a magnificent blossom of a deep crimson colour, in shape and size bearing considerable resemblance to a full-blown peony. The natives occasionally wear these "warrior" flowers in their hair as ornaments. (p 238 - written in reference to plants seen whilst descending the Mount Keira road)

... The first day was spent in rambling about with our friend, and sketching, amidst the beautiful scenery of the surrounding neighbourhood. There is a grove of cabbage palms on the margin of a small stream close to this spot, and it was amusing to witness the dexterity with which the natives climb the branchless and smooth trunks of these trees, by means of a notched stick, and occasionally with no other assistance than a piece of wild vine or supplejack, which they draw tight round the tree. (p 240)

[Angas also visited Illawarra and Kuama during 1851 and 1854]

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#### Select Committee on Aborigines

During 1845-6 the New South Wales Legislative Council undertook an investigation into the condition of the Aborigines of the west coast of Australia via the appointment of a Select Committee.

Apart from interviewing individuals - including Mehroot of Botany Bay - the Committee sent a circular to the various Branches of Magistrates and clergymen, seeking information on local people. Amongst those who replied were the Reverend Mathew Devineish Meares of Wollongong (on 8 April 1848) and Francis Flanagan of Broulee (1845). The questions and replies were printed in the published *Votes and Proceedings of the NSW Legislative Council*. They are reproduced as follows, along with some returns from Bemmara, Pecan, and the Campbelltown districts.

### Illawarra Aborigines

<sup>1</sup>From the Reverend M D Meares, M A, Minister of the Church of England, Wollongong, 8th April, 1848.

1. What is the probable number of Aborigines in your district, distinguishing males, females, and children?  
Males 34, females 40, children 10, of these 6 are black, 11 half-caste
2. Has the number diminished or increased, and if so, to what extent, within the last two or ten years?  
In 1837 there were I believe upwards of 350 Aborigines in this district
3. Has the decrease been among the children or adults?  
The decrease has been pretty equal in adults and children.
4. To what cause do you attribute the decrease in your district?  
To the fact of their having from associating much with the worst characters, among the white population, imbibed most of their vices, without any of their redeeming qualities.
5. What is their actual condition and means of subsistence?  
Their moral condition is, from the causes stated above in the reply to query No 4, worse than before they were exposed to the degrading effects of such association.  
Their means of subsistence are fully adequate to their wants; whether derived from their ordinary pursuits of hunting and fishing, or in exchange for such services as they are able and willing to render to the settlers
6. Has their ordinary means of subsistence diminished, and if so, what part of it, and from what causes, if it has increased, what part, and from what causes?  
The improved parts of the district, afford more extensive hunting grounds than the present diminished numbers of the Aborigines require, the fish are as abundant as ever, and they can earn a something occasionally from the settlers.
7. Have blankets been issued to the Aborigines in your district heretofore, and for what period? What was the effect of giving them? Has the giving of blankets ceased? When did it cease, and what has been the effect of its cessation? Would it be advisable to resume the distribution?  
Blankets have heretofore been issued by the Government to the Aborigines, the effects produced were 1st - an increase of their comforts, and the preservation of their health; 2nd - a partial inclemency towards civilization by an increase of their wants.

No blankets have been issued since 1844; the effects have been an increased mortality, particularly among the males, and much dissatisfaction among the survivors, with considerable suffering from rheumatic affections and colds. I would strongly recommend an immediate return to the former practice of distribution.

8. Have they been allowed or refused Hospital or Medical treatment in case of need; and in what manner, and, if allowed, at whose expense?

Bundel, a native of Illawarra, died in the Hospital in Sydney some two years ago, in no other instance has medical assistance, within my knowledge, been sought for.

9. What proportion of them are either regularly or occasionally employed by the settlers, and in what way? In what manner are they remunerated?

There are two or three who are frequently employed by the settlers in Illawarra, but for irregular periods, and they receive wages and rations as other men.

10. What habits have they bearing upon their aptitude for employment?

They have no habits, of which I am cognizant, bearing upon aptitude for employment of a laborious character; if it were otherwise, I am of opinion that their muscular development would be much greater than I have ever witnessed it, except in rare instances.

11. Are there any, and how many, half-castes in your district? Are they living with or after the manner of the Aborigines?

There are two or three adult half-castes who live as do the Aborigines, and with them.

12. Is there any disposition on the part of the white labouring population, to amalgamate with the Aborigines, so as to form families?

There is no desire on the part of the white labouring population to amalgamate, in a legitimate way, with the Aborigines, cases have occurred in which white men, working among the Aborigines, as cedar cutters, have cohabited with black women for months together, in one instance for two years, but the connection has always ceased immediately on their return to a settled part of the district.

13. Are the Aborigines in friendly or hostile relations with the settlers in your district, if hostile, how has the hostility arisen, and what collisions have taken place between the two races, what loss of life has there been, and in what manner has it taken place on either side?

The Aborigines in this district are peaceable in their habits, and generally well disposed.

14. What destruction of property has been occasioned by Aborigines?

None whatever.

15. What are the relations, hostile or otherwise, of the Aborigines among themselves in your district?

Generally of a friendly character.

16. Are their numbers directly or indirectly affected by their hostility, and to what extent?

One man was killed in a private quarrel by his own brother, about two years ago.

17. Is Infanticide known among them?

It is altogether denied by the Aborigines of this district, and I have never heard of an instance of it among them.

18 Will you be good enough to state any facts relative to the Aborigines that would assist the Committee in its endeavours to promote their welfare?

From my limited acquaintance with the habits of the Aborigines I cannot state any facts which could assist the Committee in its endeavours to promote their welfare, but I am of opinion that their children, in no way deficient in intellect, are capable of a high state of moral culture.

I have never met with any people endowed to the same extent with the ability to acquire a knowledge of the English language, indeed, I feel convinced that if that paternal care, which a Government is upon every principle, bound to extend to all classes of its subjects, had been exercised towards them, the moral and physical condition of the Aborigines would have been raised to a respectable level, instead of being sunk, in a great measure from neglect, to the most degraded.

What course is best calculated to benefit them now is not easy to be ascertained, but something at least ought to be attempted. A long debt is due to these people from the inhabitants of European descent, and whatever the legislature can do for their religious improvement, their temporal comfort, or the education of their children, will, I am persuaded, be well and wisely expended.

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#### Aborigines of the Broulee District

\* From Francis Flanagan, Esq., Broulee

- 1 The number and description of the aborigines in this district is as follows - About two hundred and fifty, one hundred and forty males, sixty females, and thirty children.
- 2 Diminished about fifty percent.
- 3 Few children are now reared, and many adults have died lately.
- 4 Cutaneous and venereal diseases principally.
- 5 Those who choose to work can obtain plenty of food and clothing, and they seldom have of necessity to depend upon fishing or hunting for subsistence.
- 6 Kangaroos have diminished, but most of the natives in the district depend more upon the sea than the bush for food.
- 7 Blankets have been issued regularly since 1837, till last year. None have been given during the last winter, and in consequence many of the old and infirm have perished through the inclemency of the weather, as trusting that blankets would be issued at the usual time [May], they did not even provide themselves with possum cloaks. But we would recommend the issue of sufficient number of blankets for the old and infirm. In fact, the supplies hitherto rendered, (twenty-five pairs) were only sufficient for such, and distributed accordingly.
- 8 About two years back, a virulent cutaneous disorder was raging amongst them, and a surgeon resident in the neighbourhood provided them with medicines at his own expense, for which the Government has since refused to remunerate him. When ill, they generally apply to white residents in the district, who doctor them according to their ability.

9 Both males and females are employed by the settlers in gathering the maize and potato crop, and some of them in reaping. They have commonly been remunerated in provisions, clothes, tea, sugar, tobacco, &c., but many of them insist upon being paid in money. They are always employed for stripping bark.

10 They will only work while the fancy seizes them, and always go off without warning.

11 There may be about a dozen half castes in the district, all young. They generally disappear when they reach the age of puberty, and are supposed to be destroyed by the other blacks, with whom, however, they generally live.

12 No, several black girls live with whites, but there is only one instance of a family continuing to reside together in this district.

13 All on friendly terms.

14 Some few cattle have been speared, and petty robberies are occasionally committed by them.

15 They frequently fight amongst themselves, upon which occasions, the whites, though often spectators, never interfere.

16 Few are killed in these encounters.

17 Very common, and in cases of twins, one is always sacrificed.

18 The only means of benefitting them is to allow blankets and medicines in cases of sickness and infirmity, as the strong and healthy can always obtain plenty of food and clothing, although they will never remain long in one place.

.....

#### Mareeba Aborigines

1 From John Lambie, Esq., J P., Commissioner of Crown Lands for the district of Mareeba.

2 The probable number of aborigines in this district is about six hundred and eighty-seven, namely, adult males, three hundred and eleven, adult females, one hundred and ninety-nine, and male and female children, say under twelve years of age, one hundred and seventy-eight.

3 The number has, during the last two years, diminished ten percent.

4 The decrease has principally been in adults.

5 The decrease has principally been from natural causes.

6 Their condition is not worse than formerly. The means of subsistence is chiefly fish, and game, and food furnished by the residents.

7 The ordinary means of subsistence has diminished, inasmuch as the kangaroo netting as soon as the land is stocked.

8 Blankets were issued formerly, and doubtless the effect was beneficial, particularly to the aged and infirm. The supply has, since 1842, ceased, but it would be advisable to resume it on account of the severity of the winters.

9 No hospital treatment has been received or applied for on behalf of the aborigines, but almost all severe cases have been medically treated by one or other of the Surgeons who are

resident stock owners, from motives of benevolence, also necessities in cases of sickness have been supplied from the same motives by these gentlemen, and other squatters.

9. The proportion of aborigines occasionally, but not permanently, employed by the stock owners is very small indeed. Some can sweep, others assist in sheep washing, and a few engage in the coast whale fishery, but they are so unsettled they cannot be depended on, and consequently their services are not much in request. The remuneration is usually made in articles of food and clothing.
10. They can scarcely be said to have any settled habits bearing upon an aptitude for employment.
11. There are about twelve half caste children, all living with, and after the manner of the aborigines.
12. There is no disposition on the part of the white labouring population to amalgamate with the aborigines, so far as I am aware.
13. The aborigines are in a perfectly friendly relation with the squatters, and no collisions have lately taken place.
14. The only destruction of property, occasioned by the aborigines, is cattle sometimes speared, but the loss has been trifling.
15. The relation among the aborigines of the district is not unfriendly.
16. The numbers directly or indirectly affected by their hostilities are not great. Occasionally hostile tribes come from the adjoining counties, and their collisions were, on two occasions, attended with fatal results. In the first instance two were killed, and in the last, one.
17. Infanticide among the aborigines is not known in this district.

#### Campbelltown Aborigines

- 1. From James Chisholm, Esq., J.P., for the Bench of Magistrates, Campbelltown.

For about the last five to ten years they have been gradually decreasing, from the number of about fifteen to twenty, until none can be said to belong to this police district, as a tribe.

Their death may be attributed to natural causes.

Blankets were issued to the natives, but have ceased to be sent for the last three years, nor was there the necessity for any issue of them as far as this district is concerned.

- 1. From the Reverend James Gould, Minister of the Church of Rome, Campbelltown, February 25th, 1846.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 17th instant, and in reply beg leave to state that no tribe of the Aborigines has resided in this District since my appointment to it. I regret, therefore, that I cannot give the information required by the Committee.

- 1. From the Reverend Jonathan Innes, Wesleyan Minister, Campbelltown, April 30th, 1846.

1. Six women, seven men, one boy, and three girls, total, seventeen.

2. That they have diminished I have not the slightest doubt; but to what extent I am not able to say.

3 I am not able to ascertain

4 To want of clothing in the winter season, the diminution of their regular resources of food, e.g. kangaroo, &c., and the vicious habits which they have contracted from the profligate Europeans.

5 They subsist principally upon opossums, with the assistance of irregular supplies of food, which they receive from the settlers

6 I believe their native food has diminished, such as kangaroo and opossum, and that it has been occasioned by an increase of the European population, and the cultivation of the land

7 I believe none since the time of Macquarie

8 I am not aware they have received either

9 I am not certain of any being regularly employed and receiving wages as servants.

10 I am not aware of any

11 There are one woman and four children - half-caste, who are living after the manner of the Aborigines

12 I am not aware of any.

13 I believe they are on peaceable terms with the settlers, I know of no loss of life which has been occasioned by hostility between the two classes.

14 I am not aware of any.

15 As far as I can learn they are of a friendly nature

16 I believe not.

17 None.

18 The above is all the information I can furnish. I feel it very difficult to suggest anything with regard to their future welfare

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#### Denbigh (Narrabeen) Aborigines

\* From the Reverend Thomas Hassall, M.A., Minister of the Church of England, Denbigh, 20th March, 1846

1 Unknown. I believe they are nearly extinct in this District. Those who occasionally visit I belong to Camden and Burragorang

2 I believe the number has greatly diminished, but I have no data for ascertaining that point

3 The decrease has been in both children and adults.

4 In a very great measure to the vices introduced by Europeans, particularly those of drunkenness and immorality

5 Their actual condition is that of the greatest degradation, and their means of subsistence is very limited, although I am not aware of any having died through want of food.

6 Their ordinary means of subsistence has of course diminished, through the cultivation of the soil and destroying their food, by hunting and shooting the animals which gave them subsistence. When I visited this District, about forty years since, numbers of Kangaroo were to be seen within a few miles of this spot; now, comparatively speaking, none are to be found.

7 I am not aware that blankets have been issued in these Districts. I think however, it would be advisable to issue them, but they should be branded, and no person allowed to purchase them, nor should they be issued near public houses, as draymen, and others entice the Natives in, and make them intoxicated, and buy their blankets. If the Clergy had the issuing of them, and taking their names, &c., it might be of service to obtain something like a census with this trouble.

8 I am not aware that they have been allowed or refused medical attendance, we have no hospitals in our District. From myself and other landholders, particularly the Messieurs Macarthur, they have always received medicine when they required it.

9 The only person I know of, who has been enabled to employ them occasionally, is John Wild Esquire, M.C., who feeds and remunerates them when they work for him in husking corn. My brother, Mr. James Hassall, and others here, have had two or three at a time, who have been extremely useful in the care of horses and cattle, until the period of knocking out their teeth, when invariably they have been compelled to leave their service. In one instance of an Aborigine at Dr. Ross's, who would not leave, he was killed by the natives for it.

10 Their habits would fit them well for pastoral employment, provided they could be removed from the influence of their own tribes.

11 More than one-half of the children are half-castes, there are a few who are grown up and are living after the manner of the Aborigines.

12 I conceive not. They cohabit with them, but in no instance am I aware of their remaining any time together.

13 They are all friendly in these districts.

14 None that I know of.

15 Unknown.

16 Doubtless they are, but to no great extent.

17 I am not certain.

18 From the attempt made at Black Town, I am assured that the great good might be effected by persevering industry and education, provided suitable means and persons could be obtained to manage an establishment for them; the failure of that at Black Town arose from the want of good soil to cultivate, and proper persons to conduct it, in fact just as the boys and girls grew up to puberty, the school was abandoned, the girls were married to the most worthless of convict men, and with one exception turned out ill. The exception is a person living near Black Town whose husband is a sawyer, she has a large family and is very industrious, taking in the timber herself with one of her children to Windsor to prevent her husband going and getting drunk. The Rev. Mr. Walker I think, could name several who have been instructed and done well, that is, have been useful and industrious. One that the Rev. Mr. Mansden took great pains with, who from the dire influence of the convicts

behaved very ill and ran away from him at Rio, returned and died in the Hospital at Sydney, a true penitent.

I write from my own certain knowledge, that the intercourse and visits of Europeans have been the great bane and destruction of the race; I recollect the time when on the Paranaugla River two or three small canoes, well made of bark, with two or three or more in each canoe, with nets, fishing lines, spears, &c., of their own making, were to be seen daily, but where are they now? There were likewise a fine race of men at the Hawkesbury and in those districts, but they have nearly all disappeared.

I think that much good might be effected by appointing depots, under certain regulations, in the different countries, where they might have, so long as they remained, a daily option, encouraging them to do a little labour, and giving them something extra for it, such as tea, sugar, and tobacco. This I conceive is due from us to them, and the expense if properly attended to would be amply repaid by the it being near at hand, to assist the constables and others in discovering stolen property as well as by their obtaining habits of industry, which otherwise I see no prospect of their ever obtaining.

#### Sutton Forest Aborigines

1. From the Reverend William Storn, B.A., Minister of the Church of England, Sutton Forest, 6th April, 1846

- I am not aware what is the probable number of Aborigines in the District
- I cannot say whether the number has increased or decreased within the last five years, not having been resident in the district so long.
- I cannot answer for the same reason.
- No answer for the like reason.
- Their condition is truly miserable. They frequently apply to me both for food and clothing, neither of which I am enabled to supply, in any degree proportioned to their actual wants.
- Their ordinary means of subsistence has certainly not increased, however it may have diminished.
- I am informed blankets were issued to the Aborigines, some few years since; I think it would be highly desirable to renew the practice, and especially now the winter being about to commence.
- This I cannot answer.
- I have known them to be occasionally employed during the mapping season. They complain much of inadequate remuneration.
- Being so extremely migratory in their habits they cannot be much employed, at least permanently.
- I have not observed many half-castes in the district, such as I have, however, lived with, and after the manner of the Aborigines.
- None whatever.
- They are on friendly terms with the whites.

- 14 They have not destroyed any property in this district.
- 15 They appear friendly towards each other.
- 16 I cannot say what their numbers were, or are at present.
- 17 I have never heard of infanticide being committed by them, on the contrary they seem much attached to their offspring.
- 18 From the incessant applications for clothes, I am inclined to believe, that the Committee could at present confer no greater benefit, than by a speedy distribution of the same.

.....

#### Goulburn Aborigines

- 1 From the Reverend William Hamilton, Minister of the Church of Scotland, Goulburn, 15th April, 1848.
- 2 In the police district of Goulburn there are remnants of several distinct tribes of blacks - the Mulwaree - the Bura Bura - the Bungonia - the Lake George - and the Fish River tribes.
- 3 Of the Mulwaree, there remains, so far as I can learn, not above two men, and five or six women, and one child. Yet it appears from a memorandum kept by the Clerk of Petty Sessions, that, in 1844, he issued fifteen blankets to as many men of the tribe, and that the supply was inadequate for the male applicants. On a previous year, to men, women, and children, of this and neighbouring tribes, he issued as many as sixty blankets.
- 4 Of the Bura Bura tribe, I have reason to think there remains five or six men, not fewer women, and several children.
- 5 Of the Bungonia tribe, I believe there are still about like numbers.
- 6 Of the Lake George and Fish River tribes, I can say nothing, but that the former is still pretty numerous, accounting probably to fifty souls or upwards.
- 7 The Aborigines of this district have no doubt greatly diminished during the last ten years, and the decrease has been in all classes of them, but of the extent of it I cannot write definitely.
- 8 The decrease of their number is, I apprehend, to be attributed chiefly to vicious intercourse of the females with white men, and to disease contracted through indulgence in drunkenness, and a change of habits, in some respects, without accommodation of the mode of life to such change in other respects.
- 9 Their condition is, for the most part, that of rambling boggans. They have no certain means of subsistence, yet they never want, obtaining always necessary food freely, or for work, or trading for the natives in the bush.
- 10 Their original means of subsistence has, no doubt, greatly diminished; so far as it consisted of the kangaroo, and wild fowl, it may be said to have entirely failed, and this through the presence of the whites with fire-arms, and the numerous dogs kept at every grazing station.
- 11 Blankets have been issued for at least ten years, ending with 1844. They no doubt contributed immediately to the comfort of the blacks, otherwise they would not have shewn so great eagerness to procure them, yet, I apprehend, they may have contributed to their

contracting the rheumatism to which they are subject, the protection they afford against wet not being so complete as that afforded by the opussum cloak; their distribution may also have withdrawn a valuable motive to native industry. But having been begun, and the blacks being reduced to their present abject condition, I think the distribution of blankets ought to be continued; its cessation to have occasioned great dissatisfaction among them.

6. There were one or two blacks received into the Goulburn Hospital, while it was a convicts institution, and supported entirely by government; and there has never been any case of refusal to admit them of which I am aware. One who was sick in hospital, and had his arm amputated, was induced, by the rest of his tribe, to run away before his recovery was perfected.

9. A large proportion of them are occasionally employed to strip bark, cut up lime-wood, gather potatoes, carry messages, ride after cattle, and so forth, and are adequately remunerated with money, nations, tobacco, or whatever else they may wish from the stores of the settlers; a few are more regularly employed; one has been for two years past a herd shepherd at Taree, I have heard of one in the same neighbourhood hired as a but lock-driver, one or two are generally employed about the police barracks. Last season, at a station on the Fish River, a flock of sheep was shorn by blacks, and at Bungoona several were engaged in rearing.

10. Their aptitude for employment may be inferred from what has just been stated. What legal circumscribes their liberty, is most congenial to their natural disposition and habits.

11. I have seen half-caste children living as the Aborigines do, how many there are now I cannot say.

12. One instance of such disposition has occurred. A white man living at the farm of Francis Cooper, Esq., Lake George, was married a few years ago, by the Reverend R. Cenwright, now of Gunning, to a female Aborigine for two or three years, but a separation has taken place, (it would appear from jealousy, on her part, of another woman - a white) and she was lately, and probably is still living, as a house-domestic servant near Lake George. This female never associates with the other Aborigines, and but for her complexion and features, would not be supposed to be of the same race; she possesses a degree of intelligence, and an amount of religious knowledge, far surpassing those of a large proportion of white females, and bears an excellent character.

13. The Aborigines of this district have always been on friendly terms with the settlers; yet I have been told, that long ago, one white man was killed by the blacks on the Muliwarras.

14. They appear never to have occasioned any destruction of property.

15. They are peaceable and friendly among themselves.

16. There is no reason to think hostilities have affected their number.

17. I have no reason to think infanticide is practiced among them; but I once had a report respecting blacks at Limestone Plains (Carbens), which led me to suspect, that half-caste children from five to ten years of age, are sometimes destroyed by them.

18. The only facts of the kind, referred to by this query, of which I am cognizant, have been already noticed in answers to questions 3 and 12. Perhaps it might be found advisable to give a premium to any black, male or female, who continues steadily industrious for two or more years, and connecting this with public distribution of blankets to the other blacks, might have a beneficial effect. Their susceptibility of religious and moral culture appears to me, from all I have seen of them, to be as great as that of whites, who have contracted habits artificially inservable.

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## Pitcairn Aborigines

\* From Matthew McAttee, Esq., J.P., for the Bench of Magistrates, Pitcairn.

1 The following is a statement of the number and description of the Aborigines in the district of Pitcairn.

Male	Adults		Children		Half-Caste Adults		Half-Caste Children	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
27	23	5	1	1	1	1	3	6
Total								67

2 Diminished about five percent.

3 Among both.

4 Bad living, lying on the damp earth; dissipation, and consumption.

5 Very miserable, food, principally opossums, and what they beg from the white inhabitants.

6 Decreased, from the increased occupation of their original hunting grounds.

7 Blankets have been issued to most of them annually, till the present year. The effect of giving them was, that they made themselves, at first, useful to the police and other inhabitants, and were much pleased, and gratified with the indulgence, which, from having been accorded to them for many years, they at length looked upon as a right. The effect of discontinuing them has been to make them exceedingly dissatisfied. It would be very desirable to resume the distribution of blankets, and of a better quality than they have been in the habit of receiving lately.

8 They have seldom or never asked, or received any hospital or medical treatment. One of them is a Carewedgee or doctor.

9 A few occasionally reap, and pull husk and maize, for which they are paid in provisions, tobacco, old clothes, and sometimes muskets, and fowling pieces.

10 They are proverbially indolent, and very lazy when employed by the whites.

11 One man, one woman, and nine children, all living with, and after the manner of the aborigines.

12 Only one instance of an aboriginal woman living with a white man, in the district.

13 Most friendly. No collision whatever has occurred.

14 No destruction of any kind of property has been occasioned by the aborigines.

15 They are very friendly and quiet among themselves.

16 A very few have been killed by hostile tribes.

17 Not in this district.

18. Their welfare would be greatly promoted by giving them in the winter months some little food, such as flour, tea, sugar, and giving them blankets, or woollen slope, which should be marked in a conspicuous manner, and made punishable for any white person to buy or have them

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**Bomina Aborigines**

1. From Samuel North, Esq., J.P., for the Bench of Magistrates, Bomina

2. There are at present about forty blacks in the Bomina tribe, viz., about twenty men, fifteen women, and five children

3. The number has decreased about one third within the last five years. From information we are enabled to arrive at, we are induced to believe, that the tribe did not exceed sixty in number, ten years ago

4. Both

5. Natural causes, except one or two instances of sudden death

6. The same as horsemens.

7. No alteration in their means of subsistence

8. Blankets were issued to them in 1843, since then the practice has been discontinued. The effect of this cessation has been to make them as sort to their primitive habits, of providing themselves with opossum cloaks, but as the weather here is very severe in winter, and as the cost of blankets is but trifling, we would recommend the resumption of the distribution

9. No hospital in this district, there has been no demand for assistance (medically) on their part; nor is there any hindrance for paying for medical treatment for them, should they require it.

10. There is but one aborigine in this district who has remained regularly in employment, viz., a groom. During the harvest time they are generally employed by the farmers reaping, and this they do very well. They are remunerated for their labour partly in money, and partly in property, such as clothes, and a little tea, sugar, and tobacco

11. It is only by holding forth, what to them appears great remuneration, that they can be induced to work, on the whole, they are excessively indolent

12. There are two or three half-caste children in the district, they live with the aborigines

13. No, (with one single exception.)

14. Friendly

15. None

16. There have been three deaths amongst them during the last four years, arising out of quarrels amongst themselves.

17. Not to our knowledge

18. We are not aware of any facts, relative to the adult portion of the aborigines, that would assist the Committee in its endeavours to promote their welfare. But as regards the children, we are of opinion much may be done for them. We have instances of their aptitude for knowledge. We have one instance, in this district, of an aboriginal youth, adopting the habits of the white race, and of having continued so for some length of time. We have also one instance where an aboriginal woman has, in like manner, adopted the habits of white women, in every way. We think if the parents could be induced to plan with their children, and these children were placed in such situations where their education could be strictly attended to, (every exertion being made to eradicate from their minds the desire to retain a sense of religion inculcated in their youthful minds, and a due attention to their wants, they might eventually be reclaimed from that wretched state of barbarism, in which they are unhappily at present placed.

[unclear]

6846

#### A Muruya Vocabulary

H. Hale, *Ethnography and Philology*, Lee & Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1848 (re-issued by The Gregg Press, Fliegwood, New York, 1960) ML Q508.3W.

This publication includes two sections on:

- \* The Natives of Australia, pp 106-118
- \* The Languages of Australia, p 479 et seq.

Hale was a member of the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-42, under Captain Charles Wilkes. He visited New South Wales in 1839-40, and the above publication includes a brief account of the Muruya Aborigines.

Hale also states (p 106) that a vocabulary was 'obtained directly from the natives ... [at] the Mutuya River to the south [of Sydney]'. This vocabulary is reproduced below.

#### Vocabulary of the Mutuya River Natives

Head	Japan
Hair	Baur
Eye	mebara
Mouth	ta
Lips	ellin
Teeth	yuu
Tongue	tation
Chin (or beard)	walo, yerun
Ear	kura
Neck or throat	ham
Hand	maru
Bread	beul
Thigh	bunto
Foot (toes)	dana
Skin	maru
Man	yuvin
Woman	wenon

Father	papute
Mother	manola
Sun	bu gulin
Moon	dawern
Wind	minumma
Fire	kanya
Water	asdyna, banya
Stars	bura
Good	lywemgu
Bad	gunina

[See also under 'Dreaming Stories' section for material recorded by Hale]

'96 aborigines in Illawarra in 1846' (*New South Wales Legislative Council Journal*, 1860, volume 81, part 1, p 663)

### The McCaffrey Family at Kangaroo Valley

[September 1846] In 1846 Charles McCaffrey became the manager of the Osborne cattle station at Kangaroo Valley (Kangaroo Ground). The task of moving his family and belongings from Marshall Mount to Kangaroo Valley, via Gerringong, Berry (Broughton Creek) and Baramangay, were described in reminiscences published by his son around 1930 (*The McCaffrey Family at Illawarra, 1846*).

The next halt was at Broughton Creek, where arrangements were made to leave most of the contents of the dray, and start early next morning for Baramangay by means of the pack mules and horses, which place was reached during the next day.

My father said such a cavalcade was never seen in the Valley before, as about fifty of the blacks people, men, women, boys and girls joined in, ready to help in doing anything and everything, owing to the fact that a small convoy of the Lake Illawarra tribe had come to the range to introduce my father to their relations. Another convoy came over the range with my mother [in October].

I do not wish my readers to think these black people intruded themselves beyond their kindly acts. Not at all. They were well within their rights by doing what they did - it was in the best of spirit - and all would then return to their respective camps. At that time there were five camps in the Kangaroo Ground, each camp in a separate gully.

My father's greatest dangers were the wild zebras or buffalo-bulls that infested the ranges ... The blacks would not touch any old bull's flesh, as they were convinced there was an evil spirit in him. When an encounter with a wild bull ended, the dogs got an hour's rest and a good feed of raw flesh. My father once relieved a blackfellow who had climbed a tree to avoid a bull. As the bull had kept him there for hours it can be imagined what a relief the sight of the dogs was to him. The bull was ended in the usual way, and for that the black was grateful.

My father said he had killed twenty of those bulls, and the male calves went to the black people. No devil in them - too young.

[In 1851 the McCaffrey family moved to Jemana, near Kiama.]

1847

## Census of Maneroo and South Coast Aborigines

5 January 1847. J Lambie reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo area (H24/Sydney, 1825, series 1, volume XXV, pp 559-60)

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 5th January 1847

Sir

In reliance to your letter of the 21st ultimo, requiring my annual Report of the state of the Aborigines of this District for transmission to the Secretary of State, I do myself the honor to report as follows:-

During the past twelve months, the deaths, chiefly from old age, have exceeded the births in a greater degree than in any previous year since I have been in the District. There have been no collisions with the White population.

Last season, a greater number of the young males, belonging to the Tribes on the Coast, engaged in the Seal-Whale Fishery than on any former occasion, and there are now in addition about fifteen of the young men at sea in vessel's employed on that service. But, beyond a doubt, which however appears to be growing, to thus make themselves useful, I can perceive no further improvements in the condition of the Aborigines of this District.

The accompanying Census, exhibiting the numbers of the different Tribes, is as correct as I could obtain it.

I have, &c.,  
John Lambie, C.L.L.

## Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo, for the Year ended the 31st December, 1846.

Name of Tribe	Males	Females
Gundary, Bengalla and Bournley	17	14
Wagonga, Tiba, Tiba and Myra	58	19
Windelle, Marabarrie and Bowenga	103	63
Biggah	79	69
Twoicot Bay	60	39
Pumbopla	10	5
Cape Howe	22	19
Matheratta and Cambelong	18	11
Mowenbar	14	14
Snowy River	26	21
	393	256

1848

## Census of Maneroo and South Coast Aborigines

6 January 1848: J Lembe reports to the Colonial Secretary on the number and disposition of the Aborigines in the Maneroo area (J/2/4, Sydney, 1823, series I, volume XXVI, pp. 403-4)

Commissioner of Crown Lands Office

Maneroo, 6th January, 1848

Sir:

In reference to your letter of the 2nd July, 1841, requiring an Annual Report respecting the Aborigines, I do myself the honor to state that no material change has taken place in their condition during the year. In their disposition and conduct, they continue quite harmless, and live on friendly terms with the settlers.

A few of the Blacks accompanied some graziers, who removed their stock into Gipps Land, and indeed great numbers now pass the greater part of the year in that District.

The Aborigines are fast decreasing in numbers, and it is needless to say that generally they retain their old wandering and unsettled habits, and seem as much as ever destined to remain long in any particular place.

There have been no collisions with the Whites that I have heard of, but it has been reported to me that two died of Influenza, during the time this disease was so prevalent among the White people a short time ago.

The Blacks continue as heretofore to assist the Settlers in Hay making, rapping, sheep washing, and other kinds of work, but they cannot be depended on as the means of supplying labour, and deficiency of which is beginning now to be so severely felt.

The accompanying Census exhibits an approximation of their numbers as near as I could procure it, but the difficulty of obtaining anything approaching a correct account has been greatly increased from so many of the Maneroo tribe migrating to Gipps Land, and intermixing with those who inhabit the County extending along the Ninety Mile Beach.

I have, &c.,  
John Lembe, C.C.L.

Census of the Aborigines of the District of Maneroo  
for the Year ended 31st December 1847,  
accompanying Report to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary,  
dated 6th January, 1848.

Name of places of usual resort	Males	Females
Gundary, Boyalla and Bontolly	2	19
Wagga, Tilba Tilba and Myaha	54	39
Windella, Mambatina and Bowranga	90	62
Biggar	65	71
Twofold Bay	49	26
Pambula	12	5
Cape Howe	16	25
Maneroo and Cambewalang	20	9
Mowamba	10	6
Showy River	29	20
Total	373	344

### Blankets for Aborigines at Illawarra

12 May 1848: The Colonial Secretary's Office sanctions the issue of 75 blankets to Blacks in the Illawarra district (Archbold Campbell Papers).

### J.P. Townsend at Ultadulla

Joseph Phipps Townsend: *Travels and Observations in New South Wales*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1848

This book includes a detailed account of the Aborigines at Ultadulla, where Townsend had been stationed for 4 years during the 1840s

[1848] Reverend M D Morris, Church of England minister at Wollongong, estimates 93 Aborigines about Wollongong (Stuart Piggin, *Faith of Steel*, Wollongong, 1994)

1850

### Terara

According to W A Bayley (Sheaheaven, 1875, p 64):

Only one public house existed [at Terara, Sheaheaven] in 1850 and the major result appeared to be to turn the Aborigines into drunkards, according to reports

1851

### The Murder of Fisherman

6 January 1851: (Sydney Morning Herald) A local Aborigine known as 'Fisherman' is stabbed whilst robbing two white constables. Apropos of an ex-convict at Wollongong. Fisherman subsequently dies and the ex-convict Kent is charged with murder. The local Bench of Magistrates holds an investigation on the 20th.

### Burial of the Blowhole

William Barnes, who arrived at Kurnell with his family early in 1839 (Recollections, Kurnell Independent, 1902), caught the steamer from Kurnell to Sydney in 1851, but due to bad weather was forced to return to Kurnell.

During the end of the week we managed to get on shore. We had visited the blowhole, and there we saw the body of a blackfellow lying on a shelf of rock just below the mouth of the aperture. It appears a number of blacks had arrived in town, and, after having some "bulgarny" stuff, had a row; this unfortunate black got the worst of it, and to get the body out of the way they took it to the blowhole and threw it in, thinking it would wash out to sea, but it rested on the ledge.

[Refer also to another extract from Burfiss's Reminiscences under 1840]

John Henderson: *Excursions and Adventures in New South Wales*, W. Shoberl, England, 1851, 2 volumes.

The author visited Campbelltown, Aspin, Wollongong, and Coolangatta during September 1850. Volume 2 contains a detailed discussion on the Aborigines of New South Wales.

REVEREND W. B. CLARKE

#### Reverend W. B. Clarke and the Aborigines

During 1851, the Reverend W. B. Clarke of St Thomas's church, St Leonards (see also under 1840) conducted a survey of the Aborigines of New South Wales for the Church Missionary Society.

A letter was sent to all Anglican parishes outside Sydney, requesting information on the numbers, ages, and social conditions of the Aborigines in the various districts.

Clarke received a number of replies from throughout the Colony (see also Mitchell Library MSS15125), however no return from Illawarra survives.

The parson at Campbelltown answered Clarke's request with a letter stating there were no Aborigines in the area, and had not been for many years.

The parson at Berrima, W. Stone, enclosed a detailed Return, which had been compiled in association with the issue of blankets. This return is reproduced below.

#### Aborigines of the Berrima District

Return showing the Numbers, Names and Ages of the Adult Aborigines in the District of Berrima on the 24th May 1851. Specifying their individual Characters, their places of resort; and their Social Condition i.e. whether single or Parents, whether living in a complete State of Nature, partly civilised, or in Employment by Europeans, and in the latter cases, what are the names and occupations of the employees.

No.	Aboriginal Name	English Name	Age	Their Place of Resort
1	Yewga	Joe Wild	35	Mittagong and Berrima (Good white) In town. Works at wood cutting for the Inhabitants. Married
2	his wife Gatin	Polly Wild	20	do.

3	Boorcha	Jacky Plowright	42	about Berlina (Well behaved and works at wood cutting occasionally. Married)
4	his wife Halmar	Mrs Plowright	40	do
5	Yellowe	Billy	25	Cumulbilly (Rather wild. Fond of ..... Married)
6	his wife Benduck (Unknown)	Louisa	16	do
7	Murriboora (Unknown Single)	Nelly	40	Morder to Yellowe
8	Whawa	Cocky	40	Button Forest
9	his wife Neilia (Fond of Grog)	Polly	28	do
10		Philip	28	Kangaroo Ground (Well behaved. Very proud of his personal appearance. I have often seen Philip go to the nearest creek to wash his teeth and stand admiring his reflection in the water. Married)
11	Blugila	Jockey	50	Cumulbilly (Cunning rogue. Married)
12	his wife Jenauqua (Good)	Jenify	55	do
13	Woonowalling	Betsey	35	Mittagong (Unknown Parent. Lives with a Shepherd of Mr Condeau's named James Turner. She is a Half-Caste and very fine working woman)
14	Cowarin (Unknown Single)	Jenny	20	Bello
15	Moorman	Sally Bankey	25	Bindoonley (hard working ..... Married)
16	Mooroon	Billy	50	Bong Bong (Wild Married)
17	his wife Yarrabaa (Wig)	Mary	40	do
18	Bamgo	Mary	50	do (Wild Single)
19	Mallong	Jen	45	Button Forest (Unknown Single)

20	Meldong	Charley	35	Bambula (Well behaved. Single)
21	Mogonung	Neddy	40	Berima (Cunning rogue. Single. And presently attached to the Mounted Police. Is very useful In the Bush of tracking Bushrangers)
22	Cocoroca	Charley	28	Sutton Forest: His wife Jolonga (Unknown)
23		Buddy	30	do.
24	Nilga		50	Sutton Forest (Unknown. Parent. Mother to Neddy no.21)

Note, I have guessed at the age, as none of them could tell it, the answer of all being that they "cannot keep count", yet strange to say, most of the men play a game at cards called "All Fours" which requires some knowledge of figures to play well - and I have seen some that play very well, as far as I could judge.

There are more Blacks in their Tribe, but they neglected to attend for their Blankets, and I have no knowledge of them, unless I see them normally.

W. Foster.

Return showing the Numbers, Names, and Ages of the Children of Aborigines in the District of Berima on the 24th May 1851. Specifying whether wholly Aboriginal or Half-Caste.

No	Aboriginal Name	English Name	Age	Whether wholly Aboriginal or Half-Caste
1	None	Mappy	13	Wholly Aboriginal
2	Bellot	Jenny	17	do.
	(Has a Half-Caste Child named x)			
3	Gadma		3	Half-Caste
4	Jingain	Lucy	9	Half-Caste
	(Daughter to Bessie (No 10) who lives with the Shepherd named Turner)			
5	Birdrooky (Is Married)	Mary Caine	14	Half-Caste
6	Quanga	None	17	Wholly Aboriginal
7	None	Bob Nimpael (In the Service of Capt. Nicholson J.P.)	16	Half-Caste

1852

**Tommy Noggans, Black Tracker***Francis McCaffrey: The McCaffrey Family of Illawarra, Kansa, c1939*

This small booklet records an incident illustrating the skills of a black tracker at Kansa during the 1850s...

...Shortly after 1852, my father [Charles McCaffrey] was a dayman on his own account, as he had brought six young cows and six young foals from the Kangaroo Ground [to Jerrang], together with two mares, one a beautiful black animal, sired by Mr Osborne's imported horse. There was only one secure paddock in the neighbourhood. He got her into it by paying a stiff price. Shortly afterwards the mare was missing.

As luck had it, next day Tommy Noggans, a clever black tracker called at our place and the fact was told to him. After a meal, he set off, previously carefully examining the paddock. He was very angry and indignant as he had broken the mare in for my father. Some days later, the mare was brought back, Tommy being as proud as proud could be.

1854

**Doctor Ellis**

1 September 1854: William Macarthur writes a letter to Emily Macarthur (Mrs James Macarthur) referring to the botanical expertise of the Illawarra Aborigine known as Doctor Ellis. At the time W Macarthur was compiling a list of botanical names, with their corresponding Aboriginal names, for plants of Illawarra, the South Coast and Camden.

The following summary of that letter was written by Miss Annette Macarthur-Orchard (HS Bulletin, June 1983):

**Dr Ellis, Botanist**

William Macarthur writes about the rain-forest brush near Wollongong and Jambaroo, where he was identifying and collecting plants, and says:

"I have not got on so bad as I might have done for want of 'Dr Ellis' who has been ill, or is ill, and has not joined me."

He goes on to write of one particular brush where he had been on an earlier expedition [c1840] with George Macleay when, after collecting twenty three species of plants, they thought they had exhausted it.

"This time," he says, "with the aid of an opera glass, I have been able to find 12 fresh specimens; not before got ... besides those we have got much finer specimens of a good many we had before - I study miss 'Dr Ellis' who could give me the aboriginal names of almost every tree."

[Refer under 1861 for William Macarthur's published list of botanical specimens from Illawarra, with corresponding Aboriginal names compiled with the aid of Doctor Ellis]

1855

### King Mickey and the Minamurra Camp

King Mickey (1834-1908) was the most famous Illawarra Aborigine in the latter years of the nineteenth century, being proclaimed King of the Illawarra tribe at the Illawarra Centenary celebrations held in conjunction with the Wollongong Show during 1886.

It is believed that he was born at Port Stephens, and at one stage he lived in the Aboriginal camp at Minamurra. The following account of King Mickey and the Minamurra Camp is contained in W A Bayley's *Kiama* (1976, p 114).

Possibly one of Kiama's best regarded inhabitants was King Mickey of the Aborigines. In 1855 the Aboriginal encampment was noted as being on the flat near Minamurra bridge, where existed "a couple of neatly constructed huts made of old sacks and saplings. There are also some fine man's whisk dusky children of all shades of colour are roaming about on the level grassy ground." Mickey was a noted runner in his youth and died at the camp in 1898, aged 72, being buried in Kiama cemetery. He was interred in 1896 by Archibald Campbell, M.L.A., with a crescent-shaped brass plate inscribed "Mickey Johnston King". For Queen Jessie in her old age the public erected and furnished a small cabin at Minamurra in 1923.

[See also references to King Mickey under 1865, 1890 & 1906]

1855

### Death of Mongo Mongo

Monday, 7 July 1856 (Illawarra Mercury) Report on the death of the Aborigine Mongo Mongo

Death: On the 3rd instant, at Shoalhaven, Mongo Mongo, the aboriginal equestrian, a native of Tamwoot, Peel's River, after an illness of three months. He had been in the employ of Mr Ashton for the last three years, and his loss will be deeply felt and deplored by his relatives, his employer, and a large circle of friends.

1857

### An Aboriginal Birth

Monday, 23 February 1857 (Illawarra Mercury) Notice of an Aboriginal birth.

Birth: On the 18th ultime, at the Encampment, near Tom Thumb's Liggon, the lady of Mr Paddy Bumenglong, of a daughter

### Discovery of an Aboriginal Body

Saturday, 21 March 1857: The body of a supposed Aboriginal woman is discovered at Bull Mountain, by the old Apple road. An investigation of the remains are undertaken to ascertain the likelihood of foul play (Illawarra Mercury, 23 & 30 March 1857).

**Discovery of Human Remains - Yesterday (Sunday) the Chief Constable of Wollongong, having received information on the previous day to the effect that certain human bones had been discovered at Bulli, went to the spot named and there found a skull, two thigh bones, two shoulder blades, several ribs, and portions of the spine of a human being.**

The skull is cracked down the front division, the right cheek is wanting, as well as several of the front teeth of both upper and lower jaws. In all other respects the portion of the remains is quite perfect, though quite bleached by exposure to the weather. The thigh bones are almost perfect, but many of the portions of spine and ribs are broken, and some of them considerably changed through being exposed to fire, to which means must be attributed the absence of either the bones of the arms, hands, lower portions of the legs, or feet, as well as any article of clothing, none of which could be discovered notwithstanding a most diligent search was made for them for a considerable distance round the spot where the bones were discovered.

A tomahawk was found three rods from where the bones lay, it has a figure 4 very legible upon the side of it, and does not present the appearance of having been exposed to the atmosphere. It had no handle in it.

The locality where the mysterious discovery was made is on the Bulli Mountain, about one mile north of the road to Appin, and within two or three rod off an old "cedar track," and on the property of Mr. Ballantyne.

Whether the skull is that of an aboriginal or not, we are not learned in ethnological lore sufficiently to determine, but it certainly has the "forehead villainous low," extended and prominent jaw, peculiar to that section of the genus homo to which the aborigines of this country belongs.

This is the first impression that strikes the spectator of these relics of humanity, but there are circumstances which would lead to a contrary conclusion.

Natives are not at all likely to be lost in the bush for so long a time as to die of starvation, and if these were the remains of a blackfellow murdered by his own people, it is not likely that the body would be left above the earth, for they invariably bury the bodies of those who may fall by violence. In addition to these reasons, the tomahawk is not of the description generally possessed by blackfowls, being more like those used in England and in the colonies by carpenters, and known as an English tomahawk.

Whether, however, these are the remains of an European, lost in the bush, or of one having met his death by the blow of a murderer, (a conclusion to which the crack in the skull and the absence of the cheek-bone would almost lead us) or whether the remains of a black butchered by his fellows, is beyond our ken, and a mystery which time and diligent inquiry probably may unravel.

**The Human Remains -** The remains mentioned in our last issue, having been discovered on Bulli Mountain, were examined on Monday by Dr. Genard, who expressed his opinion that they were those of an aboriginal female. They were afterwards interred by the chief constable.

[It is telling that the reporter did not consider the possibility that the body could have been that of an Aborigine killed by a European.]

\*\*\*\*\*

#### The Death of Captain Brooks

6 July 1857: (Newcastle Mercury) Report on the Inquest held into the death of Captain Brooks, an old Aborigine who was accidentally burnt to death in his camp at Kuama.

Inquest - Last Saturday an inquest was held here [at Kiama] by the coroner on the body of Captain Brooks, a well-known aboriginal chief, who was burned to death on last Friday in his camp at the lagoon. The poor fellow had become very old, and for a long time past, was quite blind and unable to walk any. He was provided for by the black fellows, who carried him from one camping place to the other. On Friday last, when the blacks were out hunting, the wind blew the fire into the boughs of which the Captain's camp was composed, and he being by himself and unable to remove from his perilous position was speedily burned to death.

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1858

#### Blacks Blanket Day

April 1858 (Illawarra Mercury) Report on 'Blacks Blanket Day' in Illawarra, with about 25 issued at Wollongong, near Brighton Beach, and about 23 in Kiama

Blacks' Blanket Day - On Thursday, 1st April, we witnessed the distribution of blankets to the blacks of Wollongong. There were only about twenty-five of the original owners of the soil present, including girls and picannines, the latter being almost every shade from copper colour to "whitish-brown". Several lings and charts were present, and we are sure such a motley gathering of "crewne headed" for so humble a purpose, would have lowered the dignity of their royal brothers of her Climes, could they have been present.

Cooma - a darky whose advance in the adoption of the manners and customs of his civilized masters will be acknowledged when we state that he has taken kindly to boots and was tried by the Bench a few days back for being drunk and disorderly - acted as marshal on the occasion. He assumed the most commanding manner in discharging his duties, ordering this one there and that one there in a style which, for pomposity, could not have been excelled if he had been dressed in scarlet and had a sword by his side. Having, after a great deal of pushing and yobbering, got the gentlemen and youths on one side and the ladies and girls on the other, immediately opposite the Court-house verandah, the Chief Constable called up each one by name, and gave, even to the little ones at their mothers' breasts, one each a blanket of first-rate quality, which they received with a bow and a "thank you," as if it were not the price of one of the finest "jewels in the British Crown." This having been done, Dr. Ellis - a most polite and loyal darky - induced the rest to "ball up" together, and then called upon them for three cheers for the Queen, which was given with a hearty vociferousness which could only be excelled by their conquerors, and was followed by three more for the Magistrates and another three for Wollongong. The blacks then dispersed.

The Aborigines - The noble natives of this district (Kiama) came, yesterday, to the Court-house here for the blankets usually given them at this season. The muster was not numerous although there were present, in addition to the Kiama blacks, several from Wollongong and Shoalhaven. There is a marked failing off, during the last few years, in the number of the tribe. And we noticed that the complexion of nearly all the children is a great deal less dark than that of the full-grown forming the group, and that their features preserve not the form peculiar to the darkies of the country. In a few years the native tribe belonging to this locality, though once numerous, will have become extinct. Three and twenty blankets were served out to them, and this number supplied each with one. Extremly pleased were their covering for the winter it was hinted to the others by one of the charts, Doctor Ellis, that three cheers should be given for Victoria the Queen. They all cheered lustily three times for the Queen, and then dispersed.

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1869

**Blacks Blanket Day**

25 April 1869; (*Illawarra Mercury*) Report on issue of blankets at Wollongong:

The annual distribution of blankets took place on Tuesday last. Forty-three blacks received a blanket each, but none were given to the youths and piocannines. This is really too bad, for they are as much entitled to and require them as adults. For some unexplained reason only one half of blankets arrived instead of two.

**Eugen von Guérard, Artist, at Illawarra**

December 1869: Eugen von Guérard, the German artist, visits Illawarra, sketching at Wollongong, Figtree, Kaiama, and Jambaroo. The following works by him contain Aboriginal figures and motifs.

- \* Mountain scenery near Jambaroo, N.S.W. c1860  
Oil on millboard 30 2 x 46 7cm  
Elders XL Collection
- \* Lake Illawarra, NSW 1869  
Chromolithograph 1866-7

**Samuel Thomas Gill**

[c1869] S.T. Gill was a watercolourist who visited the headwaters of the Shoalhaven River, near Moruya, at this time. The following view depicts Aborigines walking through the nearby gorges.

- \* Coo-oo-oo, oo-oo! [Shoalhaven Gorges]  
Watercolour † Mitchell Library

1869

**Blankets at Milton-Ulladulla**

27 April 1869; (*Illawarra Mercury*) Report on issue of blankets to Aborigines at Milton-Ulladulla, plus a cricket game played at the time.

The Blacks were served out their blankets by Constable McFarlane on the 14th instant, at Ulladulla.

A game of Cricket was played between the Natives and Europeans on Saturday, the 14th instant, at Mr Miller's Flat, which resulted in favour of the "sons of the soil", with all the ease imaginable.

### Influenza at Milton-Ulladulla

13 July 1860: (Newcastle Mercury) Report on influenza among the people of Milton-Ulladulla, including the Aborigines.

The influenza is playing up "Old Harry" among the aborigines, no less than four of their number having been swept into eternity last week - to wit, Old Charlie Pickering, king of the Pigeon House, a man supposed to be well-nigh 100 years old; and his queen died about the same time, a very old woman. The next is old Burnel Paddy, another man about 80, and, to finish the catalogue, old Burnel Tommy, as old as any of the others.

Old Pickering was remarkable for sobriety and gentleness of disposition, and, old as he was, he was the best bark-striper among the race in this neighbourhood. Paddy was still more remarkable for sobriety, he never having been known to taste grog of any kind, and what is still more strange for his class, he did not smoke tobacco. Tommy was not very remarkable for anything but old age.

There is a tradition among the blacks of this place that about forty years ago a vessel was wrecked on one of the Ulladulla heads, and that her crew landed all safe, but shortly after landing they were surrounded by the blacks - who had never seen a white man before - and, without exception, they were all killed and eaten by the savages. Paddy and Tommy were amongst the number, and many of the younger blacks talk of the thing. They were only boys at that time, but they recollect sharing in a "fumble-fumble."

There are Europeans living here yet who are fully convinced that the above tale is true, and some of them even know the exact spot of the wreck - it having often been shown to them by the blacks. It is a great wonder that no white man has ever had sufficient curiosity to examine the spot, for if the tale be true, the anchors and chains and other iron work of the vessel will still remain there. If some of our enterprising townsmen would examine the spot with dredge, it would at least be satisfaction to get any clue as to the truth of the tale.

[1860] About 400 blankets were issued to Aborigines at Shoalhaven in 1860.

1861

### Native Woods of Illawarra

Sir William Macarthur 'Specimens of Woods Indigenous to the Southern Districts' Catalogue of Natural and Industrial Products, New South Wales International Exhibition, Government Printer, Sydney, 1861, pp 15-43.

This is a catalogue of native woods from Illawarra and southern New South Wales (including the Camden and Appin areas), listing the European, Aboriginal, and scientific names for each variety of wood. It was compiled by Sir William Macarthur, one of the exhibition commissioners, with assistance from Edward Hill and Reverend James Hassall. It appears that Macarthur received information on Illawarra trees from the Aboriginal known as Doctor Ellis, possibly during the 1840s - see under 1854.

The following list is a summary only of the complete catalogue entries, in which the woods are divided into three groups as follows:

A Forest  
 B Banan scrub  
 C Rich brush, or cedar brush

Of the 194 samples listed, only 116 are given Aboriginal names. Where no 'Local Name' is given, the scientific name is inserted in square brackets. The Aboriginal names given are taken from the following localities:

\* Hawaia  
 \*\* Derrima  
 | County Cumberland and Camden  
 + Beddoe/Water

Descriptive notes are also inserted with each entry, where relevant.

Cat. No.	Local Name	Aboriginal Name	Notes
1	White or Pale Iron Bark	*Burrinima	From Hawaia
4	Broad leaved Rough Iron Bark	[Jemi-bam	From Appin
7	Narrow leaved smooth or red Iron Bark	[Mokarago	From Camden
10	Box of Hawaia	*Ginchoro-wam	
11	Bastard Box of Hawaia	*Dzah	
12	True or Yellow Box of Camden	[Bounyewo	
13	Bastard Box	[Gourno	
		[Bamou] Gournah	
16	Flooded Gum	+Tharimbai	
17	[Eucalyptus sp.]	[Dhakka] Couroo	
18	+Blue Gum of Coast Districts	*Couranga	
19	Blue Gum of Camden	*Tjibat (Yamah)	
20	[Grey Gum	[Maundown	
24	*Woolly Butt of Hawaia	*Gracolis	
25	Rough-barked Gum	*Buman-bunong	
28	Spotted or Mottled Gum	*Yah-riigna [Bocongeo	
27	Black Butt Gum	Yan-Wanah	

29	[River Gum, Camden	Kayen-to
30	White Gum	Cicerambuy
31	[Blood Wood	Mannen
40	*Mesmate	*Warrusah
42	*Swamp Mahogany	*Bung abay
43	Swamp Mahogany	*Bunam Muna
44	Mahogany	Bocash
46	Sringy Bark of Coast	*Dinhah Othasang +Nignturkung
48	Sringy Bark, Camden	Bour sougne
50	[Red Gum	Kambourra
52	Apple Tree of Coast	*Yeh-dihedeh
53	Apple Tree	Boondah
54	Turpentine	*Booneah +Kila Warrabah
55	Water Gum	*Daramilly
57	Hickory	+Wallega
59	Prickly Pear Tree	*Niambon
60	Common Tea Tree	*Yuang-ans
61	Salt-leaved Tea Tree	*Gurred dihooth
62	Broad-leaved Tea Tree	Boed jpong
64	Broad-leaved Tea Tree	Numbah
65	[ <i>Lepidopeltis</i> sp.]	Tibekin
	"Very hard dense wood, used formerly by the Aborigines for their weapons."	
67	Black Tea Tree	*Boon-ban
68	Lily Pily	*Tolentil
69	Brush Cherry	*Galang ans
70	Myrtle	Kangaleen
	"Wood exceedingly hard, close, heavy, formerly much used by the Aborigines for their offensive weapons."	
71	Parby	*Ngarriengnagringn

72.	Three-valved Myrtle	*Dhalandoon
73.	Beef Wood Silky Oak	*Makyn
74.	Native Pear	[Menj'a-courro]
75.	Honeysuckle	[Wattang-uner]
76.	Honeysuckle	[Goundyah]
80.	[Persoonia linearis]	[Naam-bura]
81.	[Persoonia lancea]	[Nusimo]
82.	[Acacia sp.]	*Baulang
84.	Black Wattle or Kawama	*Myimbarr
85.	Sallow	*Mandal-wo
86.	Hickory Lignum Vitae 'Pretty small tree, wood hard, close, tough, bark containing much tannin, used by the Aborigines to poison fish, and to make embrocations for the cure of cutaneous diseases.'	[Wise-igutan]
87.	[Acacia hemimallii]	[Kaarmewan]
92.	[Acacia umbracaria]	*Merath guage
95.	[Green Wattle]	[Wah-kah]
96.	[Black Wattle]	[Boek. kaming]
97.	*Green Wattle	*Nummeruk
98.	Dog Wood	Moutangama
99.	Cypress	Mumagun
101.	Forest Oak Beef Wood Shingle Oak	Dahl-wah
102.	Spreading Oak	Nar-nar
103.	Spreading Oak	Nar-nar
104.	Forest Swamp Oak	Coom-bah
105.	River or White Oak	Bilagin
106.	Saltwater Swamp Oak	Comburna
107.	Beech	Wattang unca
108.	Beech, Brush Cherry	Barmuduna

109	Turmeric	Beud ging
111	[Ericoleman sp. ?]	Yandormanna
113	[Ericoleman sp. ?]	Yenilla
114	[Capromata laurina]	Bahawa
115	Lauril	*Ornawing +Baa rung
118	White Sycamore	Myndee
120	Tekk Wood	+Mutropun
121	Flame Tree 'A fluffy tree, beautiful at all times, magnificent when in blossom; its local name having reference to its brilliant coral colored flowers'	Weary Wogee Wood soft and spongy, the bark prized by the Aborigines for nets and fishing lines'
122	Couramya	Couramya 'Pretty small tree, with short stout stem, and graceful aspen-like foliage, the wood soft and spongy, full of mucilage, the sap roots of young trees and the young roots of old trees, used for food by the Aborigines, the bark used for nets and fishing lines'
123	Canjeng	Ethaneng-gange
		'A beautiful flowering tree, with slender tall stem, the bark much prized by the Aborigines for nets and fishing lines'
124	[Sapindus sp.]	*Ballin bowlimba
125	'Madene' Blush 'Ladies' Blush	*Dawawah +Kaneeeng
126	[Cupressa sp.]	Yowano
127	*Tangerine Tree	*Burmunderra
129	[Arilla elegans]	*Morning aria
132	Bassiaachro nobiliflora	+Tjaundiegong +Caulang
134	*Black Plum	*Booreema
135	*Grey Plum	*Gaanambool
		'A much finer tree [than Black Plum], and with tougher wood, produces large quantities of small fruit, eaten by the Aborigines, wood in repute for strength and toughness.'
136	*White Maple	Ngeuroon *Naanan
137	[Pittosporum undulatum]	Walanundaynen
138	[Diospyros australis]	Covrtau

159	White Myrtle Blue Ash, Ash	Tojounan
140	*Light Wood Leather Jacket +Coach Wood	*Boota +Ngoo-rowing
142	Cork Wood	Bool boorah
143	Pine, White Pine	Dymon dymon
144	Rough Fig	Murulang
145	Rough-leaved Fig	Ulewong
146	Smallest-leaved Fig	Warraka
147	Small-leaved Fig	Bera
148	Large-leaved, or Moreton Bay Fig	Kamouara
149	Port Jackson Fig	Othaamen
150	Nettle Tree	Goo mao mao
	1... the wood is too soft to be of use as timber, but a strong fibre is obtained from it by the Aborigines.	
151	Brush Apple Wild Plum	Jemawa wath
152	[Nephassa ovata]	Dungaranga
154	Red Ash Leather Jacket Cooper's Wood	Munung
157	White Cedar	Otheerah
158	Dog Wood Blood Wood	*Wattion
159	[Symplocos sp.]	Othanandah
160	Cherry	Ko-la-yatt
161	Cherry	Goo yle
162	[Callooma sp.]	Tojomung
163	Cork Wood	Ngmoa
166	Black Corymb	Komarak
167	[Oxider Xanthoxylon]	Kalgneen
168	[Myoporum scutinatum]	Ngmoa

166	Mangrove	Baa-lun
171	"White Beach + Beach	Coo-in-new
173	[Eucalyptus sp.]	Jinda Yinda
175	Rough Bough	Hullers
176	Cedar	Pela
177	Mountain Ash	Yander-ary
181	[Genus unknown]	Peel-tah
187	Bangalow	Bangalay
188	Cabbage Palm	Dharowal
190	Tree Fern	Gouroo-mod
191	Tree Fern	Beeper-wang
192	"Tree Fern	Yama-wah
193	"Tree Fern	Denn-Hangue
194	Cedar	Pela

[For scientific names, refer original catalogue. The above list was originally published during 1854  
The above is the final edition with amendments]

1862

#### Wollongong Blanket Issue

1 May 1862: Blankets distributed to Aborigines at Wollongong Court House on this day.

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#### Notice of a Birth

Tuesday, 29 September 1862: Rare notice of an Aboriginal birth in the local newspaper (Newcastle Mercury)

Birth: At her residence, The Encampment, Five Islands Estate, on the 20th instant, the wife of Patrick Bangalow, Esq., of a daughter. Both mother and the interesting baby are doing as well as possible.

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1883

## An Ilawarra Vocabulary

[1883] The following vocabulary is taken from a short article published in *Science of Man* during 1882. It was collected by Miss M. A. Brown from Micky Mysanna of the Ilawarra tribe during 1883.

Tumar	Bread
Mummas	Beef
Hoodkar	Sugar
Pibang	Tea
Tabbie	Flour
Kijong	Water(fresh)
Kaliboo	Fire
Moring	Ashes
Koondroo	Tree
Koondroo	Weed
Kyancoondroo	Log
Karongcaurage	Smoke
Molonga	Coals
Knownsing or Nerong	Light
Chaljiknew	Candle
Wabbarow	Potatoes
Korongnew	Cabbage
Minegong	Pumpkin
Tembathurral	Onions
Knownbroe	Melon
Boiboul	Corn(maize)
Midhong	One
Bulkemah	Two
Bulkemah Midhong	Three
Waworuth	Four
Mouree	Five
Mourendah	Twenty
Piherong Jerong	Plover
Yanummech	Peach
Yanummech-meek	Peaches
Tumbemeloaq	Flowers
Kyong	Sea
Witjuck or Muang	Sand
Peffingang	Saltwater
Powere or Coong-courong	Shells
Tang	Fish
Puny Burry	Whale
Hanssper	Shark
Kurnah-wash or Pupper	Sandpiper
Pumbee or Pumeh	Eel
Yannigar or Mogurrah	Lobster
Telidoe lyann	Shrimp
Pith thung ner	Oyster
Cohmea	Tooth
Yerish or Era	Tooth
Bern	Jaw
Kolomish or Neewra	Noose
Yating	Mouth

Terting	Tongue
Murning	Throat
Nourinw	Forehead
Pearnch	Cheek
Wourliew or Wamee	Chin
Woolahr	Head
Mappunnoo	Brain
Bomow	Skull
Ku un ing	Neck
Kooloo	Shoulders
Teng or Karul	Arms
Noutash or Woda	Elbow
Mumahmull or Mumund	Hand
Pukunantwa or Bumendo	Fingers
Perrynew	Fingernails
Pumunggull	Nails
Yalgar	Breast
Pulagi	Back
Thumia	Leg
Numer	Legs
Thumia	Foot
Tunner	Foot
Muccow	Heel
Bathyantia	Toes
Watta Watta	Arkla
Ki-um-moo	Knee
Woulfling	Beard
Ganemata	Hair
Mobsra	Eye
My-yed	Eyebrow
Cheensill	Eyelash
You-an-you	Body
Youlhan or Yowin	Man
Megar or Maga	Woman
Konjacer	Boy
Younjocar	Little Boy
Mooroongaling	Baby
Phiang	Old Man
Modlerther	Old Woman
Boomberry	Young Man
Yerowilseeng	Young Woman
Known	Blood
Kumuna	Opossum
Wooflunger	Opossum Creak
Pit-pit	Open
Koongbuny	Sleep
Beonash	Wind
Bunna	Rain
Woorree	Sun
Gudjung	Moon
Mulamulka	Stars
Burdo	Kangaroos

[Refer also to the McCalley Papers (1910-1930) for another, slightly different version of this list.]

1864

## Henry Kendall - Poet

1864. Henry Kendall, grandson of the Reverend Thomas Kendall who had taken up properties at Uludula and Kurna in 1827, went on to become famous as Australia's first native born poet. The following poem, initially published in 1864, may have been based on his early experiences in Tasmania. He lived at Uludula between 1829-44 and Fairy Meadow 1852-5.

Woonona is a town in northern Tasmania, named after the Aboriginal word for a feature of the nearby escarpment.

## Woonona - The Last of the Tribe

He crouches and burns his face on his knees,  
And hides in the dark of his hole,  
For he cannot look up to the storm-smitten trees  
Or think of the loneliness there,  
Or of the loss or the loneliness there.

The willowes grope through the tufts of the grass,  
And turn to their covers for fear,  
But he sees in the ashes and lets them pass  
Where the bowering sheep with the spear,  
With the nulla, the sling, and the spear.

Upo! behold him! the thunder that breaks  
On the tops of the rocks with the rain,  
And the wind that drives up with the salt of the lakes,  
Have made him a hunter again,  
A hunter and leader again.

For his eyes have been filled with a smouldering thought,  
And he dreams of the hours of yore,  
Of the loves that he sought, and the lights that he sought  
With those who will bathe no more,  
Who will go to the battle no more.

It is well that the water bubbles and fits  
Goes moaning and moaning along,  
For an echo rolls out from the sides of the hills,  
And he starts at a wonderful song,  
At the sound of a wonderful song.

And he gets through the roads of the scattering fogs,  
The comaborne wattle and gum,  
And the lures who sat by the fire on the logs,  
To watch, like a mourner for him;  
Like a mother and mourner for her.

Will he go in his sleep from those desolate lands,  
Like a ghost, to the rest of his race,  
To the honey-eyed woman who bickers, and stands,  
And grieves like a dream in his face -  
Like a marvellous dream in his face.

Henry Kendall

www.ozemail.com.au

### An Eden Vocabulary

14 October 1864: List of words used by the Eden natives. From Reverend Ridley (1875):

#### Words Used at Twofold Bay

(From Johnny Wyman, an Eden black, in goal, 14 October 1864)

In the language spoken about Twofold Bay, 200 miles south of Sydney, the word for God is 'Dhurumbulum'.

I	naadha
Thou	Indiga
I and Thou	naawung
We three	naawung
Sin	kumina
Pardon	wattuga
I shall forgive him	igindaga murada
I shall not forget it	watindlunambadik
I shall think of it	winduga
Father	bebba
Mother	mna
A man courting one's sister	kubbo
A man married to one's sister	bumbo
Proper names of a family -	
Wakaman	father
Dacum and Makada	brothers
Mamuti	sister

1865

5 May 1865. (Tawarna Aboriginal) Report on the issue of blankets to Aborigines at Tawarna, and the death of a well-known Aboriginal woman called Black Polly.

#### Blankets for the Blacks

Yesterday about forty blankets were distributed to as many aborigines, who attended at the Police Office to receive the annual bounty. The greater proportion present were (pecanmias). Amongst the whole number it was difficult to find any of the true Australian type. When the blankets had been distributed, three hearty cheers were given for the Queen, and three more for the bench of magistrates, after which the recipients of the blankets made their way into town.

#### Death of an Aboriginal

The well-known aboriginal Black Polly, died on Saturday last, and was buried on the following Sunday. Report speaks of Polly as the wife of a chief of the Tawarna tribe, but whether she were so or not is of small consequence. She has gone the way of all flesh and rests in her grave. There are few residents in Tawarna who have not been asked at some time or other to "gib a penny to Poor Polly".

### Reminiscences by E.H. Weston

'Reminiscences of an Australian Pioneer', by Major E H Weston of Albion Park (Wollongong Library - extracts published in the *JHS Bulletin*, 1978), were recorded around the turn of the century, however they speak of events at Illawarra during the late 1850s. Mr Weston arrived in Illawarra in 1860 and settled at 'The Meadows'. The following extracts from his reminiscences concern local Aborigines:

#### Tiger

##### (Young King Mickey)

When leaving the Clarence I traded off a blue serge shirt to a black called "Tommy" in exchange for one of his boys, a youngster about ten years old, called "Tiger." The father appeared quite pleased with the transaction.

On the way home, I stayed one night in Sydney, and took "Tiger" to a theatre just to see what impression it would make on his black mind. What took his fancy was the most huge chandelier with its glittering lights, he eyed it for some time and inquired,

"How lightun big fellow candle?"

As it was a waste of time trying to explain "gas" to him, I said "I don't know."

"Me know," remarked Tiger, "he um candle on long stick."

Looking down at the people in the pit he said, "Where all them fellows sleep?" but nothing else seemed to interest him.

Tiger lived with me for ten years, and became a regular swell, and was most particular about his clothes, but eventually he became very lazy and sulky, and finally went off and joined the local tribe of blacks at Illawarra, and being a very strong and muscular chap soon took command, and as he did not like the name of Tiger he was known here and wide as King Mickey. He took for his queen a girl named "Rosy" and raised a large family.

The King's closing years were greatly upset by Queen Rosy sleeping with a missionary, but he majestically dismissed the incident when I saw him by remarking: "When I see it I kill it."

#### A Drowning

The marvelous instinct of the Aborigines in tracking and other things has always been a matter of wonder to me. Two boys living on a farm adjoining mine went out after some wild duck, which frequented a large waterhole on my land. One of them shot a duck and slipped off to go in for it. He swam to where it was floating about the middle of the pool, when his legs became entangled in the long clinging weeds which it was full of. His mate couldn't swim and there was no help at hand, and the poor lad became exhausted and sank. The other boy came home and gave the alarm and very shortly a crowd collected.

A mounted trooper and another good swimmer dived repeatedly till they were blue with cold but found no trace of the body.

A boat was prepared and drags improvised and some hours were spent searching, but the weeds were so thick and heavy that they impeded operations.

There were some large swamp oats overhanging the water, and my black boy "Tiger", who was looking on, climbed one of them, and lying down on one of the limbs, gazed intently at the water for a time, then suddenly without saying a word, he climbed down, slipped off his clothes and dived in brought up the body first try.

I asked him afterwards how he knew the exact spot to find the boy, he said "Well, I been see it", but that was quite impossible as the water was nine or ten feet deep and none too clear at any time without the additional mud stirred up by the frogs.

#### A Pool of Blood

[The following incident occurred whilst Mr Weston and his party were taking 100 horses from Flowers to Mumumbidgee]

I turned out about daylight and was thoroughly disgusted to find all the horses (with the exception of one that was dead lame) had broken out of the paddock and disappeared.

After a hearty breakfast of hot damper and thick tea (think of it ye dyspepsos) we started off carrying our bridles, "Tiger" going on ahead tracking the horses who had evidently split up into small mobs.

While following one of their tracks we came to a big pool of blood where a beast had been killed shortly before, but there was no trace of the carcass.

Tiger slipped away and lay down hiding behind a tree. I told him in his language to go on tracking. He said,

"I been think it, you and me go back camp."

I asked for what? He said,

"Me cobborn sick longa cobborn, can't track" I said,

"What for you been plola that big follo is?"

"Bad mo talkin me, no see track," and to that he stuck, neither coaxing or threats or the stockwhip having any effect on him. As it was getting late we decided to make for the camp. As we had been walking all day, I had no idea where we were, but the young beggar went as straight as a line to camp, and we were pretty well knocked up when we got there.

It must have been the sight of blood frightened Tiger, as he told me afterwards "somebody's been kill black fellow there."

#### Doctor Ellis

All early residents of Flowers will remember Dr Ellis, a pure-blooded aboriginal! He had received a good education, and was the most intelligent and polished native I ever met. He would talk fluently on many subjects, and was very fond of using long words, which he never misplaced.

On meeting a gentleman, he would raise his beloved old hat, make a most courteous bow, and say "I am delighted to have met you, I, sir, am Dr Ellis, Karadgi (Native Doctor); allow me to introduce Mrs Ellis."

The latter, an old gin dressed in a dirty blanket, sucking an old pipe, with a little black peccarymy slung on her back, would sit in a most elaborate cursey, which had evidently been drilled into her by the accomplished medico.

### Tullimber

Another darky of rather a different type from Dr Bill was "Tullimber", a strange old character. He used to come across to my place every Saturday for flour, sugar, and "bacon", if he didn't get the latter, this language was, to put it mildly, sulphurous.

He had been a great warrior in his day, and his bald black head was covered with scars received in Kulin Nullights.

He was a bit of a gay Lothario. On one occasion he stole a gin belonging to the Bong Bong tribe and was followed by the former lover of the dark beauty. Tullimber got a glimpse of the Bong Bong black one evening and knew he was out for revenge. When he camped for the night, he rolled a log near his little fire, covered it with his blanket, and hid behind a big tree close by. After a time his enemy sneaked up, and when he got within striking distance, made a bound and drove his spear into the log, before he could withdraw it. Tullimber sprung out and drove his spear through him, killing him instantly. Being in very thick scrub the body was not found for a long time, so Tullimber escaped the vengeance of the other tribe.

He lived to a great age, but went blind in his old age, the other blacks used to drive a stake into the middle of his hut and tie him to it at night, to prevent him roaming away. Sometimes he would get loose and come out, and I have heard him howling like a dingo when he got cold and couldn't find the camp fire. One night he got loose and rolled into the fire and was so badly burnt that he died the next day.

An Aboriginal funeral is a queer affair. They always shift their camp directly a member of the tribe dies, the body is then rolled in a sheet of bark and carried to the burial place. It takes them hours to go a short distance, as they go forward then back, then zig zag, and turn round and round repeatedly. Their idea is to puzzle the ghost and prevent it coming back to camp.

Years after, a heavy flood carried away a large portion of the river bank, and disclosed the bones of the departed Tullimber, but I never heard of his "spirit" revisiting any of the old camping grounds.

1966

### Body Found

Tuesday, 21 August 1966 [Adelaide Mercury] Report on discovery of the body of Charley Cooma near Avondale:

The body of a blackfellow known as Charley Cooma was found in the Macquarie river near the bridge on Sunday morning, having nothing on but a shirt. He was until lately in the employ of H.H. Osborne, Esq., of Avondale. An inquest is to be held.

1867

## Death of Commodore

22 February 1867. (*Illawarra Mercury*) Report on the discovery of the body of Commodore, extracted from the *Kiama Independent*.

Death of an Aborigine. - An inquest was held on Friday last, 15th instant, before the district coroner R. H. Owen, Esq., and a jury of five on the body of an aboriginal, well known in the district by the sobriquet of "Commodore," or "Commandant."

He was discovered in the neighbourhood of the camp on the Eureka Estate by two witnesses on the 17th instant, and found dead at the encampment on the 18th, by Mr. Richard Ayers.

Dr. Nolan, who examined the body, said he found no external marks of violence. The acetum was distended, as it caused by rupture, inflammation of which was of opinion had caused death, accelerated by exposure and want.

Verdict. Died by the visitation of God, from the effects of exposure and want.

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Aboriginal Cricketers at Wollongong

April 8 November 1867. A team of Aboriginal cricketers from Victoria play a local white team at Wollongong. Aborigines from throughout the region come to see the matches. The results and statistics of the match are summarised in A.P. Fleming's booklet *The International Aboriginal Cricketers v. Illawarra Illawarra Historical Society*, Wollongong, 1982.

The following description of one of the matches was recorded by Frank Wilkinson in 1938 (*Illawarra Mercury*, 1 March 1938).

A match well within memory, was that played in 1867 against a team of Aborigines from Lake Cowell in Victoria, assisted by Messrs. Charles Lawrence and Tommy Willis. The Aborigines, who had been well taught how to play the game, were Mulgrave, Bullocky, Dick-a-Dick, Cossarons, King Coal, Peter, Shepherd, Mosquito, Jim Curd, Charley, Tiger, Twopenny, and Red Cap.

Both Lawrence and Willis took part in the game played at Wollongong. This was the first opportunity I had of seeing Tommy Willis play. His distance was remarkable, and even now, I hold the opinion that he did more to win the early inter-colonial matches, in which he took part, for Victoria, than any other individual player. Great interest was taken in the game against the "blacks", especially so, by their fellow countrymen and "gins" of the South Coast. So far south as Shoalhaven they came, making their various camps in the thick scrub down by the Tom Thumb ...

[The match was eventually won by the visiting Aboriginal team]

... After the match, and with the luncheon over, a series of athletic events, in which some of the Aborigines took part, proved interesting. Little Cossarons was a wonderfully good jumper, and some others of the team were more than average foot runners. Mr. Charles Lawrence gave one of his interesting exhibitions of catching a ball, thrown from a distance on his bat. It was really a clever act. Dick-a-Dick, with his shield, showed great dexterity in collecting cricket balls thrown at him by various players. Not one ball ever hit him. What I thought remarkable was the fact that, with his narrow shield he could, as it may be termed, play any and every ball thrown, yet, with the bat, he was only what may be termed an ordinary player, notwithstanding his wonderful sight. At spear and boomerang throwing, the visiting Aborigines were no match with the local blacks of the Coast.

However, the young "girls" took such interest in the visitors, that when it came to mustering the Aboriginal team, three or four were missing, and it took a couple of days before they were found and returned from Sydney.

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1868

140 blankets issued to Aborigines at Shoalhaven during 1868

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